THE

STORY of the NEGOTIATION

BETWEEN THE

DUKE of SAVOY

AND THE

Protestant Cantons

OF

SWITZERLAND

An Historical Account of the most Remarkable Transactions betwixt the Duke of *Savoy* and the *French King*; contained in several Letters past betwixt them before the Rupture. *Translated from the Original French.*

A True Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarities of the *French* upon the *English* Prisoners of War; being a Journal of their Travels from *Dinan* in *Britany*, to *Thoulon* in *Provence*, and back again. With a Description of the Scituation and Fortfications of all the eminent Towns upon the Road, and their distance. Of their Prisons and Hospitals, and the number of men that died under their Cruelty; with the Names of many of them, and the places of their Deaths and Burials; with an Account of the great Charity and Sufferings of the poor Protestants of *France*; and other material things that happen'd upon the way.

A Collection of Poems, Satyrs, and Songs against Popery and Tyranny, in 4 Parts; most of them writ by the late D. of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Andr. Marvel*, Mr. *John Aylef*, and Mr. *Stephen College*.

The Intrigues of the *French King* at *Constantinople* to embroil *Christendom*, discover'd in several Dispatches past between Him and the late Grand Signior, Grand Vizier, and Count *Techely*; all of them found in that Count's Papers. With [illegible] upon [illegible].

The New Nonconformist; or, Dr. *Sherlock*'s Case in preaching after a Deprivation inquir'd by the express words of a Statute, fairly stated and examined. With some short Reflections upon Mr. *Cook*'s Sermon, *Feb.* 1670. [illegible] by the Archbishop's Chaplain.

The Fate of France. A Discourse where it is shew'd, That by the *happy Revolution* in *England*, all the Designs of the *French* King for the *Universal Monarchy* are disappointed, and the rational grounds to believe his Downfal near. In Dialogues between F. *Petre*, F. *la Chaise*, and two Protestant Gent.

Essex's Innocency and Honour vindicated; or, Murther, Subornation, Perjury, and Oppression, justly charg'd on the Murderers of that Noble Lord, and True Patriot, *Arthur* (late) Earl of *Essex*; as proved before the Right Honourable (late) Committee of Lords, *& ready to be deposed.* By *Lawrence Braddon*, Gent.

The Folly of Priest-Craft. A Comedy.

The Royal Flight, or the Conquest of *Ireland*. A Comedy.

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATION OF THE AMBASSADORS SENT TO THE Duke of Savoy, BY THE Protestant Cantons OF SWITZERLAND, CONCERNING THE VAUDOIS.

Translated from the Original Copy printed in Switzerland.

LICENS'D,
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THE HISTORY of the NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE DUKE of SAVOY, AND THE Protestant Cantons of SWITZERLAND.

WHereas the Embassy which the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* sent to the Duke of *Savoy* in the year 1686. to intercede in favour of the Churches of the Valleys, was both important and difficult; and that it may give place to some opposite Reflections: I thought fit to publish the History of it, that all equitable persons being informed of what has passed in this Negotiation, might be able to make a just and reasonable judgment of it.

To this effect, I intend to inform you of the most considerable particulars of this Embassy; and as I do not ground my Work but upon good Memorials, and that my Pen shall not be mis-led either by Interest, Hatred or Affection, I hope that if I do not please my Reader by the eloquence and politeness of my Stile, I shall be able at

least to satisfie him by the sincerity and exactness of my Narrative.

'Tis certain, that amongst all Protestants, the Evangelical Cantons have always distinguished themselves by a love they have shewed for their Religion, and by an ardency with which they have embraced the Interest of the Reformed Churches: As soon as the first light of the Reformation appeared in *France*, they contributed to the utmost of their power to advance this Divine Work in that Kingdom; and they dispatched several Ambassadors to *Francis* the First, and the Kings his Successors, to desire them to put a stop to the Cruelties of the *Romish* Clergy, exercised against those that professed the true Christian Religion.

They have shewed the same Zeal in all the Persecutions the Churches of *Piemont* have been forced to undergo: In those that happened in the year 1655. and 1663. they sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Savoy* to intercede in their favour, and to maintain them in all their Rights they had acquired by the concessions of his Ancestors; and in the year 1686. as soon as they were informed of what was contained in the Edict his Prince had published against their Brethren in *Piemont*, they shewed they were extremely concerned for it; And whereas this unfortunate People was attacked with more Injustice than [illegible] been before, and that they were threatned [illegible] terrible Evils that could be imagined, they resolved [illegible] no stone unturned to divert it from them.

In effect, formerly their Enemies [illegible] themselves to keep them in the narrow [illegible] deprive them of the right to inhabit the Plains, which they had always enjoyed; but now there was a design laid to deprive them not only of the exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Country, but also of Liberty of Conscience, which made their condition worthy of compassion.

But that we may be able to judge the better of it, it is necessary to let you see a faithful Translation of the Edict.

VICTOR AMEDEE, by the Grace of God, Duke of Savoy and of Piemont, and King of Cyprus.

Politick as well as Christian Prudence advises us very often to neglect in some manner the Ulcers that are not yet in a condition to be healed, and that might be made worse by a precipitate Cure: This Conduct has been observed as well in other Monarchies, as by Our most Serene Predecessors, who in truth had never any other design, than to rescue their Subjects professing the pretended Reformed Religion, out of the darkness of Heresie, which by an unhappy vicissitude, and a fatal corruption of these times, had passed from the very Centre of the Kingdom of Lucerne, *into the very heart of* Piemont. *Nevertheless, by reason of the Succours which the Zealots of that Religion did receive from Foreign Countrys, this Holy Work could not be brought to the End We so much desired, insomuch that not having been able to purge Our Country of this Poison, We did reduce them to, and shut them up in the Valleys of* Lucerne, *of* Angrogne, *of* St. Martyne, *of* Cernse, *of* St. Bartholomew, *of* Rocempiata, *and of* Parnstin; *and by way of Toleration, We did suffer them to exercise there their false Religion, in the limits before prescribed them, according to the juncture of Times, till it should please God Almighty to give Us a favourable opportunity of bringing back those misled Souls into the bosom of the Holy and Only Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Religion. Yet time has discovered how much it was necessary to cut off the numerous Heads of this Hydra, since the said Heretick, instead of answering this favour with a deep submission, and with a sincere acknowledgment of this kind Toleration, have very often made bold to be disobedient, to a scandal, and to rise against their own Sovereign.*

And because at present the principal Cause of this said Toleration is now removed by the Zeal and Piety of the Glorious Monarch of France, *who has brought back to the true Faith his neighbouring Heretick; We think the particular Graces We have received from His Divine Majesty, and which We*

 enjoy

enjoy still, would accuse Us of the greatest ingratitude, if by our negligence We should let slip the opportunity of executing this Work, according to the intention of Our Glorious Predecessors; It is for these, and several urgent Reasons, that by virtue of this present Edict, with Our full Knowledge, and by Our absolute Power, as also by the Advice of Our Council, We have Declared and Ordered, and do Declare and Order by these Presents, to Our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, to desist for the future from all the Exercise of the said Religion. And We do prohibit them further, after the publishing this Edict, to hold no Assemblies or Conventicles in any place or particular House to exercise the said Religion, under what title, pretext, or occasion whatsoever, under pain of their Lives, and Confiscation of their Goods. And We Ordain also, That the past pretended Toleration be of no effect, under what colour or pretence whatsoever. Our Will is also, That all the Churches, Granges and Houses, in which at present the said Religion is exercised, shall be razed to the ground; as also all other places in which for the future such Assemblies shall be held, to the prejudice of what the precedent Articles contains; and this is to be executed, tho the Owners of such places are ignorant thereof. And We Command accordingly all Ecclesiaticks, Ministers and Schoolmasters of the said pretended Reformed Religion, who in one fortnight after the publishing this present Edict, do not effectually embrace the Catholick Religion, shall retreat out of our Territories after the said term be past, under pain of Death, and Confiscation of their Goods; with express Command, and under the same Punishment, not to make, within the said time, or before their departure, any Sermon, Exhortation, or any other Act of the said Religion. And furthermore, We forbid under the said Punishment, and the forfeiture of Our favour, all those that make Profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, to keep for the future any publick or private School; it being Our intention, That from this very time their Children shall be instructed by Catholick Schoolmasters. And concerning the Ministers who within the said time shall embrace the Catholick Religion, Our Will and Pleasure is, That during their Lives, and after they are dead, their Widows, as long as they shall live unmarried, shall enjoy the said Exemptions and Immunities which they enjoyed heretofore, during the exercise of their

Charge

Clergy. And Our Will is over and above, That to the said Ecclesiaticks who shall be made Converts in the said manner, there shall be paid during their life a Pension one third part larger than the Sallary was which they enjoyed in quality of being Ministers of the said Religion; and that after their death their Widows enjoy one half of the said Pension as long as they shall continue unmarried. And concerning the Children that shall be born by Father and Mother of the said pretended Reformed Religion, Our intention is, That after the publishing this present Edict, they shall be baptized by the Priests of the Parish that are already, or that shall be established for the future in the said Valleys: to this purpose, We Command their Fathers and Mothers to send or bring them to the Churches, under pain of being sent five years to the Galleys for their Fathers, and whipping for their Mothers; and moreover, the said Children shall be brought up in the said Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion. And We Command expressly all Judges, Bailiffs, Gaolers, and other Officers, to see these Presents duly executed. And We do confirm also the Edict We have published the 4th of November past, concerning the Subjects of His Most Christian Majesty that make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, and that are to be found in Our Territories, and that have left their Merchandises, Money, or other Effects behind them; and concerning the other Foreigners of the said Religion, who, to the prejudice of some of Our Predecessors Edicts, have established themselves in the Valleys, without their consent in writing, comprehending therein their Off-spring that are born there: We Command, That in case, within one fortnight after the publishing this present Edict, they do not declare to be willing to embrace the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, they shall be obliged, if the said term be past, to retreat out of Our Territories, under pain of Death, and Confiscation of their Goods. And tho lawfully, by virtue of the said Edicts, the Goods which the said Foreigners have acquired in Our Territories ought to be confiscated for Our Royal Treasury; nevertheless We are willing in this case to shew Our accustomed Clemency, and to give them leave to sell their said Goods (if they please) within the said term, and to dispose of the same as they think convenient: Yet upon these Conditions, That the selling the immovable Goods shall only be made in favour of the Catholicks;

the licks; but in case they shall find no Buyer, they shall be look'd upon as sold, and utlised to Our Dominions under a reasonable price. Finally, We Command all the Magistrates, Officers by Us, Ministers of State, Officers, Judges, and all others whom it concerns, to see this present Edict inviolably observed, and so to order the same, that the Council of Piemont *may enroll it, and give their full approbation of what is contained therein. Moreover, Our Will is, That the Publishing and Sign hereof in the accustomed places, and in the ordinary manner, shall have the same virtue as if it had been made known to every particular person; and that there be the same obedience paid to the Copy hereof, Printed by* Sinibal *Our Printer, as to this My Original itself. FOR THIS IS OUR WILL.* Given at *Turin, January* 31. 1686.

VICTOR AMIDEO.

By His Royal Highness's
Command, *Desf. Thomas.*

The Protestant Cantons having been inform'd of the Edict, did also understand some time after, that the Inhabitants of the Valleys had endeavoured, tho without success, to find some remedy against it; for they did present two Petitions to their Prince, that were not answered: In the first, they desired the Edict should be revok'd; and in the second, they asked leave to retreat out of his Territories within such a time as would be necessary to find out an Establishment somewhere else.

The Cantons seeing that the ordinary means which were made use of to hinder the execution of this Edict had no effect, did think that they ought to employ some extraordinary ones. Accordingly they writ a Letter immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, desiring him that he might be pleased to maintain his Subjects of the Valleys in the Privileges which were granted them by his Predecessors; and finding that this Prince made no great haste to send them an Answer, but that on the contrary he was in a readiness to execute his Edict by force, they resolved in a Diet at *Baden*, in the month of *February*, 1686. to dispatch him two Ambassadors, in order to endeavour to obtain by

their

their Representations, what they could not obtain by their Letters.

The persons that were pitch'd upon, were *Casper de Bluntz*, and *Bernard de Muralt*, Councellors of State, the first of *Zurich*, and the other of *Berne*, that had both all the necessary qualities to acquit themselves worthily in this Employ, in regard of their Vertue and Piety, as well as their Prudence and Capacity.

These Ambassadors were charged to employ their utmost endeavours to oblige the Duke of *Savoy* to revoke the Edict he had published against the Churches of the Valleys; and because there was some reason of fear that His Royal Highness might persist in his design to execute it in all its Points, the Evangelical Cantons, after having well considered the condition of those that composed those Churches, as also the Alliance and Forces of that Prince that was resolved entirely to extirpate them, in case they refused to submit to his Will, thought that in case their Ambassadors could by no means obtain the revoking of that Edict, it would be expedient that they should employ themselves to procure those miserable wretches the liberty to retreat into some other Country, to sell their Goods, and to carry along with them what they should be able to save out of their shattered Fortunes.

The Lords that were of this Assembly were too wise and too indicious to think upon other means than these. They saw at one hand, the little number of those that were able to carry Arms in the Valleys; for they were at the most but 2,000 Men, for the most part ill Arm'd, that had no Head, that were all provided with Ammunition and Provisions, that had no hopes of Succours from any place, and that those that were their Commanders in the years 1655, and 1664, were not alive.

But on the other hand, when they did consider the Forces of that Prince, who was resolved to abolish their Religion, they found that they far exceeded those of His Subjects, that were of a contrary Persuasion; for the Duke of *Savoy* had enjoy'd a very long Peace, he had a great number of good Troops, brave Captains, and experienced Generals. He had nothing to fear other from his Neighbours, or any other Prince of *Europe*. And

And so much the more, because the Troops of the Duke of *Savoy* were joyn'd by the Forces of the [illegible] King, so dreadful at that time, that his very Name made most Princes of *Europe* tremble, instead that formerly the Subjects of this Monarch fought jointly with those of the Vallies, to secure them from the Oppression of their Sovereign; and that notwithstanding the Succours they had from other hands, they were driven out of their Vallies, and were not able to defend themselves against the Forces of their Prince.

Moreover they considered, that if by an unlook'd for Success, the Inhabitants of the Vallies should gain the Advantage over their Enemies; that at last, they would be forced to give way to the great Number of their Enemies, whose Losses might be easily redressed by fresh Troops; but that on the contrary, the *Vaudois* would have no means to make Recruits instead of those that would be lost in their several Fights, to which they would be exposed.

Besides, that having to deal with the *French* King, who is the prudentest Prince in the World, and who at that time was not troubled with any Enemy, he would rather have armed against them all the Inhabitants of his Kingdom, than to have run the hazard of desisting from an Enterprize, which he look'd upon as one of the most Glorious he ever undertook, and which he thought should acquire him an eminent place amongst the greatest Saints in Paradice.

And whereas they had before their Eyes those *Huguenots* of *France*, that were shelter'd in their Territories, they did compare their Condition with that of their Brethren in *Piemont*, and they found that considering the great Extremity these last were reduced to, if they could get Liberty to leave their Country, they would be much happier than the others that were forced not only to leave their Houses, Goods, and Native Country, but that could not buy their Exile, but with the hazard of their Lives and Liberties.

In fine, they thought they could do nothing more advantagious for the *Piemontese*, than to obtain what they

had themselves desired in the Age past, as well as in this, when they were troubled about the Exercise of their Religion; for in those times they humbly Petition'd their Lords to grant them leave to Retreat into some other Countries.

The Ambassadors having received their Instructions, went to Turin; and presently after their arrival at *Turin*, being introduced to His Royal Highness's Audience, they did represent to him, That whereas the Intercession of the Protestant Cantons, their Lords, in favour of His Royal Highness's Subjects of the Valleys, making Profession of the Reformed Religion, had always been agreeable to him, and produced such an Effect, as they could have wish'd for; their Sovereign Lords having with great Grief understood, that His Royal Highness had form'd a Design to deprive his said Subjects of their Liberty of Conscience, and of the Exercise of their Religion, which they had enjoy'd during several Ages, had been moved by a Christian Charity, by a strict Union which they are join'd with those of their Communion, and by a Confidence of His Royal Highness's Clemency and Justice, to intercede in their Letters of Recommendation in favour of their Brethren in the Valleys.

But having received no Answer, they had charged them with this Embassy, in order to demonstrate the great Consideration they have for His Royal Highness, and at the same time to shew how sensibly they were touch'd by the late Edict, which he had published against His poor Subjects of the Valleys, and had given them order to assure him of their strict Adherency to his Interest, and to desire him afterwards instantly, that he would be pleased to maintain the Inhabitants of the Valleys in a perpetual and peaceful Enjoyment of the Exercise of their Religion, and in that Liberty of Conscience which was granted them by his Predecessors, upon the Interceding and Recommendation of several Protestant Princes and States, and particularly of their Sovereign Lords; and that the reason which gave them some hopes to obtain what they desired, was, that His Subjects had done nothing that could render them unworthy of the Favour and Affection of

 their

their Prince, or that should deprive them of a Right they had acquired by such Grants, as ought to be inviolable because they were no simple Tolerations, but Authentical Treaties made with the Inhabitants of the Valleys, and that consequently ought to be perpetual and irrevocable, as it is seen in the 20th Article of the Patent of the year 1655. and in the 19th Article of that of the year 1664. that say, That they shall be perpetually and irrevocably observed, and that in effect they have been inroll'd by the Senate of *Chambery*, in Order to be executed according to their Form and Contents.

That their Lords were firmly perswaded, that his Royal Highness would not suffer, that in his so happy and glorious Reign, these Patents, followed by several Declarations, and a world of solemn Promises, should be Cancell'd and that the Fruits of their Mediation, of their Care, and of their Pains, should be reduced to nothing.

That he would not have it should be thought, that he had not for the Protestant Cantons the same Regard, and the same Considerations which his Ancestors had, that that perfect Friendship and sincere Correspondency which has always been entertained between his Royal Highness and their Lords, as between good Friends and Neighbours, should in the least be changed; that his Territories should be exposed to a world of Troubles and Calamities; that the Consciences of his Subjects, that ought not to be answerable but to God, should be forced by fear of Death and Torments; and in a word, that the Inhabitants of his Valleys, should be oppress'd with Misery, and brought to despair.

That therefore they pray'd his Royal Highness with all possible Ardency, well to receive the Intercession of their Sovereigns in Favour of his Subjects, as their Brethren by a Communion of the same Religion, and to be touched by the Sighs and Tears of so many Innocent Souls, who humbly did entreat him to suspend the Execution of his Edict, and not to turn his Arms against his own People, who paying that Religious Homage to God, which is due to him, desired to seal up by the loss of all their Blood, that Allegiance which they had sworn to his Royal Highness.

That

That in case their Mediation should produce the effect their Sovereign Lords so much wishe for, it would be the most convincing Mark his Royal Highness could give them, that he made no less Reflection of their Entremise, than his Predecessors of Glorious Memory had done; and that on their side they would endeavour to find means to shew him their acknowledgment, and to render him their reciprocal Services on all occasions.

And whereas the Ministers of State of his Royal Highness in the Conferences the Ambassadors have had with them, did mention some reasons, why his Royal Highness had published that Edict, which they desired should be revoked: The Ambassadors thought it necessary to Answer them, and to support their Demand by the Reasons set down in this following Memorial.

Whereas the Right Honourable the Ministers of State of his Royal Highness, have given us to understand upon a private Information of our Reasons, that his present Engagement, and into which he did not enter but by the necessity of the present Juncture of the Times, was a great Obstacle to the Success of our Negotiation; we find our selves obliged to represent, to your Royal Highness, That the Churches of the Vales in Piemont, did not separate themselves from the Religion of their Prince, because they lived in that they received from their Predecessors above Eight Ages ago, and which they did profess before they were under the Dominion of Your Royal Highness's Ancestors, who having found them in the Possession of their Religion, have maintained them therein by several Declarations, and principally by those of the year 1561, 1602, and 1603. which having been enrolled by the Parliament of Chambery, *in the year* 1620. *for the Sum of* 6000 French Dollars, *which those Churches paid them, as the very act of mutual intercourse, their Right passed into a Form of Transaction, and into a perpetual and irrevocable Law, which has been observed during the Life of his Royal Highness* Victor Amidee, *and during the Regency of Madam* Royale, *who confirmed them by her Declaration in the year* 1638. *Those Churches have in following times obtained several other favourable Declarations of his Royal Highness,* Charles Emanuel,

rual, of Glorious Memory, your Royal Highness's Father, in particular, in the year 1649, and 1653. But notwithstanding the prejudice of a Right so well established by a Possession of Men Memory, and by so many Declarations, the Sieur Wildo did nevertheless in the Month of February, 1655, publish a Declaration, that did produce some terrible and sad Consequences to these poor Churches; all Protestant Kings, Princes, and States of Europe, and particularly our Sovereign Lords did esteem themselves in their Misfortune, and having interceded in their Favour, by his Royal Highness Charles Emanuel, they obtained a Confirmation of their Priviledges, and of their Concessions, by two solemn perpetual and inviolable Patents, of the year 1655, and 1664, enrolled in a good Form, and confirmed by the Letters he did write to our Sovereign Lords, the 28th of February, 1664, by which he promised them to see these Patents faithfully executed. To which the Royal Madam, your Royal Highness's Mother, did engage her self also, by her Letters dated January the 28th, 1670. Therefore, because your Royal Highness's Ancestors had several times solemnly engaged their Royal Word, principally in these Patents that were granted in the presence of the Ambassadors our Sovereigns had sent to that purpose, it would not be to break so many formal and authentical Engagements, not only because these Priviledges and Patents, being granted in the sight of all Europe, and by the Mediation and Intercession of several Kings, Princes, and States, they are Pledges and perpetual Monuments of the publick Faith; but also, because the Words and Promises of Sovereigns ought to be Sacred and Inviolable. If Engagements of this Nature might be violated under pretence of a necessity, to which the Fluctuation of Affairs might reduce a Prince, or of some Convenience and Advantage to the State, then there would be nothing assured in the World, and nothing would be seen there, but Wars and Confusions. This Maxim being once established amongst Sovereigns, the Protestant Princes might as lawfully destroy the Catholick Churches that are within their Dominions, as the Catholick Princes have a right to extirpate their Protestant Subjects. Thus forth it is evident, that whether we examine the thing in relation to the Glory and Reputation of the Princes, or if we consider it according to the Principles of true and just Politick, the

that but no other end than the Security of Sovereign Nations and States, we'll find that the words of Princes ought always to be Inviolable. It is for this Reason that we are persuaded, that no necessity of the present Junctures, nor any interest will oblige so Just, so Gracious, and so wise a Prince, as your Royal Highness, to follow a new Engagement, that does not only destroy all your Predecessors have done in the Eyes of the whole Universe, but that expects also your own State and Subjects to the Flames, Butchery, Calamities, Devastation, and to the most cruel and inhumane Rage and Tyranny.

We agree, that it is natural for a pious Prince to wish there was but one Religion in his Country; and that being persuaded that his own is the true one, it did belong to his Duty and Charity to do all he can to persuade his Subjects to it. But it ought to be allowed also, that Religion enters into our hearts by motives of persuasion, and not by force; and that to convince you of the Divine Truth, there ought to be employed nothing but Instruction, Sweetness, and Exhortation, according to the practice of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

That Kings and Princes, tho they are Masters of their Subjects, yet they have no Empire over their Consciences, that depend alone from God; insomuch that we have reason to hope, that your Royal Highness, far from forcing your Subjects to do things against their Consciences, you will be pleased, on the contrary, to restore them their Peace, which we implore for them, to confirm their Privileges, and to let them enjoy the liberty to give God that which is due to Him, whilst at the same time they pay your Royal Highness that Respect and Homage which they owe You, as your faithful Subjects.

My Lords the Ministers of State, have told us also, that the Inhabitants of the Valleys had rendred themselves unworthy of their Prince's favour: But besides that all the world agrees, that before the publishing of the first Edict, they had given your Royal Highness no reason of Complaints; and that, consequently, it is not their ill Conduct but drawn upon them so rigorous an Order; and that if there were some amongst them that had committed a fault, (which we are yet ignorant of) we ought not to be surprized, if some miserable wretches, that are brought to despair, should do some imprudent actions. Besides all this, we say, Your Royal Highness is too gracious

that he was forced to see it executed, for very and

strong Reasons, on which he would let the Ambassadors make their Reflections. That the Grants of 1655. and 1664. were a meer Toleration; and that the Vallets had no positive Right to exercise their Religion. That Sovereigns did no injustice in not being willing to suffer more than one Religion in their Country; and that the Evangelical Cantons themselves justified his Royal Highness's Conduct, by not enduring Romish Catholicks amongst them. That the Concessions granted to those of the Vallets, had been judicially examined; and that it was agreed, that the Concessions and Favours a Prince grants to his Subjects, may be revoked according to his pleasure. That the Royal Highness did formerly inhibit to the Vallets nothing but the Exercise of their Religion, but that he did no ways intend to force their Consciences.

But the Ambassadors by their Reply told the Marquis of St. Thomas, That how strong soever his Royal Highness's Reasons were to dissent to his Edict of January last, they could not prevail over those that did necessarily engage him to observe the promises given before the Edict. That some consideration of Sense ought not to dispense a Prince from performing his Word, principally if he entred into this Engagement by the Mediation of another Sovereign; and that whereas the Patents and Concessions granted to the Inhabitants of the Vallets had been acquired by the intercession of several Kings, Princes, and States, and, in particular, of their Rebellious the Protestant Cantons, and confirmed by his Royal Highness, he could allege nothing that might discharge him from the Obligation of seeing them punctually observed; and the rather, because these Patents have been enrolled by the Parliament of Savoy; and that the only enrolling of the year 1620. that put the Churches of the Vallets under Crown.

That, in case some Changes happening in a State, or several Reflections that could be made according to the Rules of Politicks, were proper exceptions to elude the Observation of Treaties, there would be no assurance in any

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Sovereign's Promise, Faith and Honesty would be altogether banished out of their Commerce. And since no body could be assured of the execution of those things which they had agreed upon, there would be left no means to terminate Wars, and to conclude Alliances.

That therefore the Concessions granted by the Predecessors of his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of the Valleys, did acquire them an unconteftable Right, which they could not lose but by an enormous Crime, and by a Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign; and that, far from being guilty of any want of their Duty, they could produce a Letter of his Royal Highness, of the 2d of *September* 1684. which is an authentical and glorious proof of their Fidelity, and an inviolable adherency which they had always shewed to their Prince's Interest.

That if in case, after the publication of the last Edict, some particular persons amongst them had taken up Arms, they had not done it to make use of them against their Sovereign, but only to defend themselves against those that abusing his Authority, had undertaken to attacque and to insult them; and that in case there had been some disorder committed, those that were the Authors ought to be punished; but that it ought not to be imputed to the whole Body of the Churches of the Valleys, that were in no manner guilty of it.

That it could not be said, that the Inhabitants of the Valleys had acquired no Right by the Grants of his Royal Highness's Predecessors; and that they were not only some Favours and simple Tolerations; it being notorious, that they are Treaties made between the Prince and his Subjects; and that these Treaties are perpetual and irrevocable, and ought to be inviolably observed.

That the Prince was equally obliged to execute the promises he had made to his Subjects, as those that regarded such persons that are in no manner under his Submission. That such Obligations were grounded upon publick Faith and Honesty, which ought to rule in all Treaties of Sovereigns, without distinctions of those with which they did engage themselves. That if it was allowable to fail in what they had solemnly promised to their people, it would be

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and too good not to pardon faults of this nature; and too just and equitable to punish the Publick for an Excess that may have been committed by some particular persons.

In fine, They would make us believe, That those Patents his Royal Highness Charles-Emanuel granted in the year 1655. and 1662. did not concern Religion, but gave them leave only to inhabit some certain places in the Valleys; and that, consequently, our Soverign Lords, and the other Princes that were Mediators in this affair, had no interest in it.

But we beg your Royal Highness to consider, first, That Religion was then so much the subject of the Question, that properly no other things did belong to it; for besides that the Order of the Sieur Gallaldo, that produced so many dismal Consequences, did deprive those Concessions that were granted to the Inhabitants of the Valleys about Religion, it was pretended at that time to force them to do things against their Consciences, because they were threatned with Death, and Confiscation of their Goods, that would not embrace the Catholick Religion within twenty days after they were ordered to do it.

Secondly, All the Mediation and Intercession of the Protestant Princes and States, were only grounded on things concerning Religion and Conscience. For, have only acted according to this Principle, and the Ambassadors were for no other reason received and heard, but by reason of the Interest they took in a business concerning Religion. And it is for this reason, that your Royal Highness and Predecessors have given several allowances, by Letters to their Excellencies the Evangelick Cantons, that the Patents granted upon their request should be punctually and faithfully executed.

And, because to the prejudice of all that has been granted them, your Royal Highness has published an Edict that forbids them the Exercise of their Religion in all the Valleys, under pain of Death; that commands the demolishing all the Churches; that does banish the Ministers and Schoolmasters; that commands that the Children shall be baptized, and brought up in the Romish Religion, and that deprives by these means those People of their Liberty of Conscience: Our Soverign Lords, that are united to the Churches of the Valleys by the same Faith, are obliged by contract to intercede for them.

And

And it is that we do now in their name, to hope that your Royal Highness will be moved by some consideration of our Sovereign Lords, and by some Compassion for your Subjects.

The Ambassadors having delivered their Memorial to the Marquess de St. Thomas, one of his Royal Highness's Ministers of State, that had the direction of the Foreign Affairs, they receiv'd few days after an Answer to this purpose: That his Royal Highness was sorry that he was not in a capacity to grant what they desired in their own and in their Master's Name; That he had far stronger reasons to maintain this Edict, than they had given him to revoke it; and that he could not do so much as to mitigate it. That the great Wheels moved and carried along with them the little ones. That the Letter the Protestant Cantons had writ to him, had not been delivered to him but after the Edict was published. That having to his Neighbour a Prince equally Powerful, and jealous of his Authority, he was obliged to carry himself with a great deal of circumspection, and to act according to the juncture of the times, in the same manner as in *Switzerland* they were sometimes forced, by the turning of the Affairs, to take some resolutions contrary to the good intentions they might have otherways. That the Marquess of St. *Thomas* had given good and profitable Advice to the two Deputies of the Valleys that were sent to him; and that, instead of giving him some marks of their submission and deference they were bound to, they had exercised all manner of Hostilities against his other Subjects, committed a thousand insolent things, and held some secret Conventicles. That they were provided with Ammunition and Provisions. That they had rendred themselves Masters of the Passages. That they had fortifi'd themselves; and that they had done all this within the time of fifteen or twenty days, which had been allowed them to take their last Resolutions. That the Prince was too far engaged. That the Troops which he had raised with great Expences, were now on foot. That the Edict could not be revoked, without wounding his Royal Highness's Reputation. That he was forced to see it executed, for very

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strong Reasons, on which he would let the Ambassadors make their reflections. That the Grants of 1655. and 1664. were a meer Toleration; and that the Valleys had no positive Right to exercise their Religion. That Sovereigns had no injustice in not being willing to suffer more than one Religion in their Countries; and that the Evangelical Cantons themselves justified his Royal Highness's Conduct, by not enduring *Romish* Catholicks amongst them. Moreover, That the Concessions granted to those of the Valleys, had been judicially examined; and that it was agreed, that the Concessions and Favours a Prince grants to his Subjects, may be revoked according to his pleasure. That his Royal Highness did forbid the Inhabitants of the Valleys nothing but the Exercise of their Religion, but that he did no ways intend to force their Consciences.

But the Ambassadors by their Reply told the Marquis of St. *Thomas*, That how strong soever his Royal Highness's Reasons were to consent to his Edict of *January* last, they could not prevail over those that did necessarily engage him to observe the promises given before this Edict. That some consideration of State ought not to dispense a Prince from performing his Word, principally if he has entred into this Engagement by the Mediation of another Sovereign; and that whereas the Patents and Concessions granted to the Inhabitants of the Valleys had been accepted by the Intercession of several Kings, Princes, and States, and, in particular, of their Excellencies the Protestant Cantons, and confirmed by his Royal Highness, he could allege nothing that might discharge him from the Obligation of keeping them punctually observed; and the rather, because these Patents have been enrolled by the Parliament of *Savoy*; and that the only enrolling of the year 1620. had put the Churches of the Valleys 600 Crowns.

That, in case some Changes happening in a State, or several Reflections that could be made according to the Rules of Politicks, were proper exceptions to elude the Observation of Treaties, there would be no assurance in any

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Sovereign's Promise, Faith and Honesty would be altogether banished out of their Commerce. And since no body could be assured of the execution of those things which they had agreed upon, there would be left no means to terminate Wars, and to conclude Alliances.

That therefore the Concessions granted by the Predecessors of his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of the Valleys, did acquire them an unconteftable Right, which they could not lose but by an enormous Crime, and by a Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign; and that, far from being guilty of any want of their Duty, they could produce a Letter of his Royal Highness, of the 2d of *September* 1684. which is an authentical and glorious proof of their Fidelity, and an inviolable adherency which they had always shewed to their Prince's Interest.

That if in case, after the publication of the last Edict, some particular persons amongst them had taken up Arms, they had not done it to make use of them against their Sovereign, but only to defend themselves against those that abusing his Authority, had undertaken to attacque and to insult them; and that in case there had been some disorder committed, those that were the Authors ought to be punished; but that it ought not to be imputed to the whole Body of the Churches of the Valleys, that were in no manner guilty of it.

That it could not be said, that the Inhabitants of the Valleys had acquired no Right by the Grants of his Royal Highness's Predecessors; and that they were not only some Favours and simple Tolerations; it being notorious, that they are Treaties made between the Prince and his Subjects; and that these Treaties are perpetual and irrevocable, and ought to be inviolably observed.

That the Prince was equally obliged to execute the promises he had made to his Subjects, as those that regarded such persons, that are in no manner under his Submission. That such Obligations were grounded upon publick Faith and Honesty, which ought to rule in all Treaties of Sovereigns, without distinctions of those with which they did engage themselves; That if it was allowable to fail in what they had solemnly promised to their people, it would be

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impossible to terminate Affairs that should arise between them, nor to appease those troubles that happen in their State; and that two Parties should make War on one another, would never end their quarrels, but by the total Ruin of one of them.

They added to this, That Sovereigns had reason to employ their utmost endeavours to unite their Subjects in the same Religion; but that to compass it, they ought not to violate Treaties which had been formerly made with them. That all that was allow'd them in such a case, was, to employ Instruction and Exhortation, and all the winning ways of sweetness, that are effectual to make truth enter into the Souls of their People, to cheer their Understandings, and to move them to embrace with good will the true Religion: But that which deserved a particular consideration in this Encounter, is, That the Inhabitants of the Valleys did not hold by the Concessions of their Prince the liberty to exercise in publick their Religion, because it was established in this Country above eight Ages ago, and that they enjoy'd this Right long time before they were Subjects to his Royal Highness's Ancestors; insomuch that having never been of the Religion of their Prince, it could not be said that they had abandon'd it, nor oblige them to return to it.

Besides that, his Royal Highness's Predecessors, who did grant leave to the Inhabitants of the Valleys to continue the practise of their Religion, were very sensible that Unity of Religion was not necessary to the Advantage and Security of the State; for else they would have been very far from granting them so several Patents, or from continuing them from time to time, as they have done.

And indeed they had so much the less to fear from a diversity of Religion which is found in *Piemont*, that those that were not of his Government, were thus spread throughout the Country, that they were like a Leaven in the Dough, and that had no design to extend their Doctrine to the other parts of his Government.

Thus, on the other hand, he had reason to fear that his Example should be followed by the Protestant Princes, and they in imitation, should not use their Subjects

subjects in the same manner that he would use those of their Religion, and that, consequently, the interest of those of his own Party should hinder him from making use of force to oblige the Inhabitants of the Valleys to renounce their Faith.

That though it seemed his Royal Highness would not force them to embrace the Romish Religion, in that he was satisfied to deprive them of the publick Exercise of their Religion, leaving them as to the rest in a full Liberty of Conscience; yet it was visible, that they were not only obliged, under rigorous Penalties, to baptize their Children in the Catholick Churches, and to bring them up in the Romish Religion; which was as insupportable to them, as if they were forced themselves to make profession of it: But that, moreover, being hindred to pray to God according to their Faith, their Consciences suffered as great torment, and lay almost under as cruel constraints, as if they were obliged by force to practice a Worship which is condemned by that Religion in which they have been educated.

Lastly, That forbidding the People the exercise of their Religion, is to throw them into a dissolution, and Atheism itself; and consequently, to cause them a greater Evil than if they were forced to enter into the Romish Church.

These Reasons were so strong, that the Ambassadors hoped they would have some effect in his Royal Highness's mind; and that the Marquess of St. *Thomas* would be pleased to make them known to him, and employ his Credit which he had with him, to obtain the revoking of an Edict which, without doubt, he had thought to be just, and which he would not have published, if he had been persuaded that it was contrary to what a just and equitable Sovereign owes to his faithful Subjects.

But they did not content themselves to represent the good Right of the *Piemontese* Churches, and to support them by solid Reasons, for they employ'd several days in soliciting all the Ministers of his Royal Highness, and all persons they judged capable to contribute to the Success of their Embassy: But above all, they stuck close to the Mar-

quess of St. *Thomas*, as one from whom depended all the Good and all the Evil they could expect in this Rencounter; and if we ought to judge of things by their appearance, the pains they took to dispose him to be favourable to them, were not altogether unsuccessful.

For he did protest upon Oath, that they had exposed to his Royal Highness the Contents of the Reply, which he had been charged to present to him; that he had done all he could to make him sensible of the Reasons they made use of to obtain the revoking the Edict; but that the Juncture of Affairs was the cause that he could not perswade his Royal Highness to grant them their Requests. *Nevertheless*, added he, *whereas the Prince's Troops are not yet upon March, the Inhabitants of the Vallies may make a show as if they were willing to execute the Edict, because that such a Conduct is not contrary to the Maxims of your Religion, that are herein opposite to the Doctrine of the Catholick-Church, and by these means they will disarm the Prince, and they may find afterwards some means to prevent the Evils they are threatned with.*

Our Doctrine (answered the Ambassadors) does in no ways approve the dissembling of our Faith, and oblige us to profess before man the Truth whereof our hearts are perswaded. But this is not our business at present; the Question is, to know whether His Royal Highness could lawfully revoke the Concessions granted to the Churches of the Vallies. Now, whereas they are Ingagements in which he is entred by the mediation of several Sovereigns, and amongst others by that of the *Laudable Cantons*, our Sovereign Lords, it is evident that nothing is capable to break them.

Yet to neglect nothing of what could contribute to the success of their Negotiation, the Ambassador made some new Efforts both by the Marquess of St. *Thomas*, and the other Ministers of His Royal Highness; but they said all, (as they had concerted their Answer) That the Edict was irrevocable by reason of the present Junctures, and some measures which his Royal Highness had taken.

And because besides the Reasons drawn from the nature of the Concessions granted to the Inhabitants of the Vallies,

Vallies, and the interest the Cantons had to see them observed, they represented the inconvenience that might follow the execution of the Edict, and amongst others, those his Royal Highness had reason to fear from the entring of Foreign Troops into his Territories, of the loss of considerable number of his Subjects, that had rendred several important services to their Prince, and that were in a condition to spill all their Blood, to signalize their love which they bore him; of the diminishing of his Revenues, which would necessarily follow the destruction of those Wretches; to which they added the blame his Royal Highness would draw upon him by turning his Arms against his own People; the damage which a Civil-War would cause to his other Subjects that were neighbours to the Vallies; with several other Considererations of this nature. The Ministers of the Prince had no regard for them, and gave the Ambassadors to understand, That the Council of State having examin'd them, did judge they were not strong enough to hinder the Prince from publishing his Edict against his Subjects of the Vallies; and that supposing the Edict should really cause some inconvenience to his Royal Highness, he would nevertheless not desist from it, for fear a charge of this nature should be a prejudice to his Authority; and that endeavouring to preserve some of his Subjects, he might run the hazard to lose them all. And though the Ministers seemed to be firm in their Sentiments, and shewed they were not convinced at the Justice of the Demands the Ambassadors made, it was well known that they did maintain the Edict against their own Opinion, and one of them did confess frankly, that his Royal Highness's Council had not enough examined the Concessions of the year 1655. and 1664, and that in case they had made some necessary Reflections on them, they would never have advised the Prince to revoke them; but he did assure them, that the Evil was now without remedy, and that the Solicitations of the Ambassador to oblige the Prince to change his Will, would be in vain; and one of the Ministers frankly confessed, that the Prince was Master of this Affair, and that they executed at *Turin* those Orders that were given at *Versailles*.

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This sincere Confession made the Ambassadors judge that all their Instances and Solicitations would produce no effect; therefore seeing it would be impossible for them to obtain the revokation of the Edict, they thought fit according to the chief head of their Instructions, to demand that which related to the Second Article of the Orders they had received from their Sovereigns, *viz.* To procure the Inhabitants of the Vallies the means to retreat some where else, and to dispose of their goods as they should think fit.

But because their instruction was, to make about this Point no Proposals to the Court of *Turin*, but with the consent of the Inhabitants of the Vallies, they told the Marquess of St. *Thomas*, that whereas for several reasons they had entertained no correspondency with them, they were willing to make a journey into the Vallies, to inform themselves exactly of the disposition of this People, and to get means by the acquaintance of their intentions, to make some overtures of a new Negotiation. But they gave him to understand at the same time, they would by no means undertake this Voyage, but with his Royal Highness's full consent.

The Marquess of St. *Thomas* having acquainted his Royal Highness with the design of the Ambassadors, sent them word that he approved their intentions, and that he would give orders to the Governour of *Lucern* to do them all that honour, and to shew them all the respect that is due to their Character.

The Ambassadors being entred into the Vallies, acquainted all the Comminalty with their Arrival, who dispatch'd immediately two Deputies, and two Ministers to them, to whom they represented: That they had employed all their utmost endeavours to make the *Edict* of the 3 1st day of *January* to be revoked, but that all their Reasons and Instances had been unsuccessful: That it had been given them to understand that his Royal Highness was so much engaged with one of the most powerful Monarchs of the whole Universe: That it was impossible for him to break it: And that he was resolved to do all his endeavours to unite his Subjects in the same Religion as he had promised him.

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Therefore there were no hopes left of obtaining the revoking the Orders that had been given against them. That their Sovereign Lords had commanded them that in case his Royal Highness should persist in his resolution to execute his Edict, they should demand his permission to give them leave to retreat out of his Territories, and to dispose of their goods; But that they had not been willing to enter into any Negotiation upon this Article, without being first informed about their intentions about it. That therefore they should assemble to deliberate seriously about so important a business, and to acquaint them afterwards with what they desired of them in the present Juncture.

The Deputies and Ministers having conference together about this Proposition, before they resolved upon any thing, they pray'd the Ambassadors to assist them with their wise Advice and prudent Council. But the Ambassadors did refuse to advise them in so intricate a business, telling them they were better acquainted with their own Forces, with the situation of the Places where they did intend to retreach themselves; with their Ammunition and Provisions, than those to whom they did address themselves to know their Sentiments, and that therefore they themselves could take the best measures about it.

Nevertheless, not being able to defend themselves against their ardent desires, and thinking that they were obliged by charity to assist them in so slippery a passage, they at last granted them their desires.

But to be able to advise them with a full cognisance of the causes, they did inform themselves exactly of the number of those that were able to bear Arms in the Valies, of the experience, vallour and conduct of their Officers, of their passages of, and avenues to their Countrey, of their Ammunition, and of the quality and goodness of their Arms; they asked them above all, if the Inhabitants of the Valies were well united, and having been informed that they all were not above 2500 fighting men, that there were amongst them more than 12000 mouths, only fit to consume; that in some places Provisions begun already to fall short; that the Troops of *France* and *Savoy* had shut up all the Passages through which they might expect

Recruits:

Recruits: that they had no hopes of any Succours; that it was not very difficult either to starve them, or to reduce them by force of Arms; that they could not retreat to their Neighbours, as in the precedent War: That the *French* King, who did formerly protect them, was their greatest Enemy; that with few men they were to defend a large Countrey; that being separated one from another, they could not speedily assist those should stand in need of it; that in the very Vallies there were some *Roman-Catholicks*, that had an eye upon their Actions, and that gave advice to the Court of all their Transactions; and which was worst, that two great Princes were joined to their destruction. They told them, that they were much afraid, that considering their condition, they should not be able to resist so many Forces that were about to fall upon them; and that it would be more advantagious for them to think of a retreat out of their Countrey, provided leave could be got to sell their Goods, and to carry along with them what they were able to save out of the Shipwrack: that they were not positively informed of the Royal Highness's intention about it; but notwithstanding he had refused it to the Inhabitants of the Vallies, when they did ask it in the third Petition they presented to their Prince, after his last Edict, yet they were in hopes that it would be granted them in consideration of their Sovereign Lords.

The Ministers and Deputies having heard this advice, desire the Ambassadors to grant them leave to consult together about it before they gave them their Answer; and having left them, they did debate about it for three hours, without coming to any resolution, every Party maintaining their Sentiments with very great heat. Some of them were of an Opinion, that they ought not to leave their Countrey, but on the contrary, they ought to hazard their Lives in maintaining the Privileges had been granted them in so authentical a manner; saying, It would be the greatest cowardize imaginable, to forfeit their Courage in a Cause wherein the honour of God and their Religion was concerned. They added, that the favour they were to expect, would be of no use to those that had nothing to defray the charges of their journey; that indeed they

might

might find some purchasers of their Estates scattered in the Island, but that no body would be willing to buy those upon the Mountains; that there were no Security for them during their departure; that there might happen some change in the Affairs of *Europe* that would render their condition better than it was at present; with that perhaps Truth, that did not think they would be capable of the last Resistance, finding they did defend themselves with such vigor, and that they did destroy a part of the Troops, might send the remainder in order to preserve them for some more considerable exploits; that they were in expectation both of money and men, that were to be sent to them by Captain *Jameson*; and that they could never make provision for making Offers from time to time they could oblige their Neighbours to furnish them with necessary Provisions.

Those that were of a contrary Opinion, answered all their Reasons in the following manner; That it is true, that both Reason and Piety do oblige us to hazard our Lives in the Defence of our Liberty, and the Exercise of our Religion, when we have some hopes to do it with success; but that when the danger is unavoidable, and our Ruin certain, it is Madness and Despair to precipitate our Destruction; and that to take up Arms against those, whom it is impossible to overcome, what efforts soever we are able to make, is to be our own Enemies and Destroyers; that they had amongst them but few Persons capable of Defence; and that how resolute and brave soever they were, it was visible they could not very long Resist two Powerful Armies that were going to fall upon them from all sides; that it was to feed our selves up with vain Imaginations, to think that the Posture of Affairs might change; that we ought to take our measures according to the present Estate of things, and according to what will reasonably happen; and that good Sense and Wisdom did not permit us to ground important Resolutions upon miraculous Events; that all *Europe* enjoyed a profound Peace, and that *France* being dreaded by all the States in the World, they had no reason to believe that she would be attacked by any Prince; nor that any thing could hap-

pen to oblige her to recal her Troops which were gone into Piemont to employ them somewhere else, that they ought to make no account of the Succours they were in expectation of; and that suppose they who had promised, should send them; yet for every Man they should send, their number with their Enemies would be able to oppose one into Company, that they could not subsist very long for want of Provisions; and that suppose their Sallies should be successful (which was not probable) yet all the Provisions which by this means they would be able to get, would not be enough to subsist so many Persons. In fine, they let them see, that their Resistance being infallibly by their total Ruin, they would destroy at the same time those Ancient Churches, that had subsisted with so much Glory in the midst of so many Persecutions, and that it would be much better by a prudent Retreat to transport this Divine Light into some other Country, than to extinguish it by a hasty Conduct.

Concerning poor Families, they said, That they ought to oblige those that were provided, to contribute something towards the Charges of their Journey, and concerning the Goods which they could not sell, that so weak a Consideration should be no hindrance to them; that their Lives ought to be dearer to them than their Lands, and that it was much better to lose part of our Estate, than to lose our Lives.

The Ministers and Deputies finding that they could not agree amongst themselves, and that besides, it was a business could not be decided but by their Commonalties, and the Ambassadors, that the Case in question being of the greatest Importance, they could take no Resolution about it, but having first assembled all their Commonalties to know their Advice, and promised them to bring them to Turin, their last Resolutions, provided they could get for them Pass-ports.

The Ambassadors being returned to Turin, gave the Marquess of St. Thomas to understand, that the People of the Valleys would rather dye upon their Fathers Sepulchres, than to lose the Spiritual Liberty, and to comply with his Royal Highness's Edict; supplicating him with all Respect

due to him, to be pleased to mitigate it; that therefore, in case his Royal Highness would shew nothing in favour of his poor Subjects, things would in all appearance come to a dangerous Extremity, and that the Rigour which he would make use of on this occasion, would cause the Ruin of part of his People. To which the Ambassadors added, That whereas they were in hopes his Royal Highness would in Consideration of their Sovereigns, moderate the Orders he had given against his Subjects of the Valleys; they had taken the Liberty to make them some Proposals that would prevent all those Evils which the Execution of his Edict would be capable to produce; and that in fine, that they might be informed of the Intention of this People about it, they desired him to grant Pass-ports for the Deputies which they were willing to send them out of the Valleys. But the Marquess of St. *Thomas* gave them to understand, that his Royal Highness had very good Reasons not to grant a Pass-port to the Deputies of the Inhabitants of the Valleys; and that they might send the Secretary of the Embassy, who might bring them their Answer in writing.

And accordingly the Secretary was sent into the Vallyes, with this following Letter.

WE do not doubt but that your Deputies have faithfully acquainted you, with our Sentiments, which are not grounded according to our Opinion, but upon the Publick Good of your Commonalties; and whereas, since our arrival to Turin, *we have been informed there of several things that confirm us in our Apprehension, for you to judge, that our Advice are good and profitable; We hope that you will follow our Counsel we have given to your Deputies, being persuaded that God by his Divine Providence will find out for you a Retreat, where you will find all the necessary Supports of Life, and Liberty, to serve him in his Fear, and according to your Conscience; and since you know, that the present State of your Affairs require a prompt Remedy, and that there is no moment lost to obtain it from your Prince; We found it very necessary to dispatch immediately our Secretary to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness did not find it convenient to grant Pass-ports for*

 your

your Deputies; therefore we desire you to send us your Resolution in writing, for then you shall [illegible] our Services would be no more required in Court, you would single [illegible] to provide your [illegible] honourable Retreat, for which (if you desire it) we Address our selves to his Royal Highness, with all possible Care and Affection, &c.

The Commonalties having been assembled, the Secretary delivered them the Ambassadors Letter, and after the reading of it, he told them, That their Affairs grew daily worse and worse; that the Ambassador of France did continually press his Royal Highness to execute this Edict; that his Royal Highness on his side was very impatient of it, either because his Reputation was engaged therein, or by reason of the great Expence he was forced to be at to entertain the Troops that were in his Territories; that since it was impossible to obtain the revoking the Edict, they ought to think upon the most convenient means to prevail with his Royal Highness to grant a Moderation, which they were in a Condition to demand. In fine, he desired them to make Reflection on all the Considerations that had been alledged by the Ambassadors, and to give their Answer in writing.

After this Representation, the Ministers and the other Deputies having conferred together, did agree to Answer the Ambassadors in the following Manner.

My Lords,

WE have received the Letters which your Excellencies have deem'd us the Honour to send us by the Secretary of your Embassy, and have been made sensible by him of the extraordinary Care your Excellencies have taken to represent to his Royal Highness, our Sovereign, and his Ministers of State, all the Reasons that were most capable to maintain us in our Right; as also the Answers made upon the Reproaches of our Conduct, as within in general of all the Vallois, as of some particular Persons, for which we cannot but render to your Excellencies, all the most humble Thanks which the most grateful Persons can be capable of. In the mean time we have made all possible resolutions on the

Subject of your Letters, and on what side soever we turn our eyes, we find very great and almost insurmountable difficulties, which we have made bold to set down in the inclosed Memorial, which we humbly desire your Excellencies to take into your wise consideration. We are entirely persuaded that your Excellencies have no other end but to find some solid expedients for those your Churches. They cannot but make their humble instances, that in case it be impossible to revoke the published Edict, or to find some equitable moderation of it, you would have the Charity to follow those other expedients which you will judge most proper for the conservation of those that rely altogether upon your conduct, after having surveyed the difficulties which the said Memorial mentions. This is, my Lords, the general sentiments of those Churches, that will never desist to pray the Divine Majesty for the prosperity of the sacred Persons of your Excellencies, and the happy success of your holy Employment. These are the Prayers of,

My Lords,

Your most Humble, most Obedient, and most Obliged Servants, the Ministers and Deputies of the Evangelical Churches of *Piemont*.

Siderac Basin, Moderator.
David Leger, Adjoint.
Jean Chauvie, Secretary.

Jean Laurens,
Jean Fabier,
G. Manelot,
P. Leydet,
P. Fabier,
Girand,
Bertrand,
} Ministers.

Jean Manelot.
Jacques Peyrot.
Jean Baptiste Roberto.
Etienne Gautier.
Paul Beux.
Jean Pierre Guantan.
Daniel Alberan.

Angrogne, March the 1686.

In their Memorial they did remark in the first place, that only the rich Families would be able to provide for their Journies; that the others, how well intentioned soever they were, could not do it by reason of their poverty; and that staying behind, they would infallibly be forced to change their Religion.

2. That it might happen, that after the principal Persons were out of the Countrey, the others would be detained under some pretence or other, though it was promised them to grant them Liberty of doing what they pleased, and that after having revoked such Patents as were granted them by the mediation of several Sovereigns, they would make no bones to break their word with the Ambassadors.

3. That they would fall secretly to obstruct the Sale of their goods, forbidding the *Roman Catholicks* to buy them; and that after all, they would not be able to sell those that were scituate upon the Mountains, and in barren places, but only those that were in the Plains.

4. They desired the Ambassadors to demand the payment of those sums that were justly owing to them, and which they could not ask for, before their departure. As also it would please his Royal Highness to prevail with the *French* King to sell their Estates which they had in the Vallies of *Perouse*, and to sue for the payment of what was owing them by the Inhabitants of that Countrey.

5. They begged for a sufficient time to sell their goods, and to find out a retreat, and that in the mean while the Execution of the Edict should be suspended, and leave given to the Ministers to continue their Exercise as before.

In fine, They proposed to the Ambassadors the difficulty they would have to find Horses and Carriages enough to transport them, with their Families and Goods, out of the Countrey, there being at least in the Vallies 15000 Persons.

This Memorial being delivered to the Ambassadors, with a Letter of the Inhabitants of the Vallies, they went to make a visit to the Marquess of St. *Thomas*, and having told him that they were in hopes of perswading this People

ple to abandon their native Countrey, provided they could do it with safety and advantage, they desired him to know of his Royal Highness if he was willing to grant leave to his unhappy Subjects to retreat out of his Territories, and in case he found him inclined to it, he should desire him that he would be pleased to nominate some of his Privy Council, with whom they might agree, about the Articles of their Retreat, and to remove all difficulties they should meet with.

While the Ambassadors staid for his Royal Highness's answer, they solicited with eagerness all his Ministers of State to engagage them to perswade him of what they desired should be granted on this occasion.

But their cares did not meet with that success they were in expectation of; for His Royal Highness sent them word by the Count of *Marsenas*, That being informed by his Ministers, that they made their earnest instances to obtain a free retreat in favour of his Subjects of the Vallies, and to regulate with his Ministers the Article about it, he had charged him to give them to understand; that this people having dared to take up Arms against him at the time that no Troops approached towards their Countrey, had committed a Thousand insolent things, and had dared him with the confidence deserving the most rigorous Punishments; and that therefore they were unworthy of the Favour the Ambassadors desired for them; in so much the more, that before their arrival at Court, they had presented several Petitions with a profound Submission to obtain some Mitigation of the Edict, and that now they pretended with their Swords in their Hands to revoke it; but nevertheless, that they assured the Ambassadors, that in case the Rebels should show some Repentance of their past Conduct, and submit themselves with that Respect they did owe him, he was in a Condition to make them sensible of the Effects of his Clemency, and to show them how much Regard they had for the Recommendations of the Evangelical Cantons.

The Ambassadors being surprised with this new Proposition, answered the Count of *Marsenas*, That it seemed to them, that his Royal Highness could not reasonably demand

mand of his Subjects, that Submission he had spoke of; that in case this People did declare, that they had fail'd in what they owed their Sovereign, they would render themselves Criminals by their own Confession; that therefore, they could not be obliged to make a Declaration of this nature; and that tho they should employ themselves to persuade them to it, it would be impossible to obtain it, for fear they should blacken themselves with a Crime they thought themselves innocent of, and to give way to a Confiscation of their Goods, that they might render themselves suspected by them, in making them such a Proposition; and that such an Overture would produce no other Effect, but to protract the time of their Negotiation, and indeed to render it fruitless.

But whereas the Count of *Marsiac* shewed, That his Royal Highness absolutely expected, that the Submission of the Inhabitants of the Valleys should precede the Favour he would do them; the Ambassadors judged, that they ought to apply themselves to the Marquess of St. *Thomas* to appease his Royal Highness's mind; therefore having waited on him, they desired him to represent to his Royal Highness, that the endeavouring to oblige his Subjects to confess themselves guilty of Rebellion, He desired a thing of them they could not grant; that a Declaration of this nature would cover them with Eternal Infamy; that indeed, with a good Conscience they could not confess a Crime they were innocent of; and that at last, his Royal Highness seemed to make but little Reflections upon the Instances and Intercession of their Sovereigns; desiring, that the Favours he was asked for, should be the Condition of a Submission, to which his Subjects could not conform themselves.

But the Marquess of St. *Thomas* gave them the same Answer they received from the Count of *Marsiac*. That the Prince was inexorable upon this Article, and that it was impossible to prevail in the least, with his mind, what Reason soever they could alledg; and that therefore it was in vain to endeavour to make him change his Resolution.

The

The Answer of the Marquess of St. *Thomas* troubled very much the Ambassadors, who were afraid that this was a stumbling-block prepar'd for the Inhabitants of the Valleys; and that there was a Design laid to condemn them upon their own Confession of their Rebellion. Nevertheless they thought that this difficulty ought not to oblige them to break the Treaty which they had entered upon; they consider'd that the Prince might publish in the World, That his Subjects had scorned to accept of his Favours. Besides, they considered, that the ill success of this Negotiation might be imputed to them; but the greatest reason that confirmed them in this design, was, that they found that it would be more advantagious to the Inhabitants of the Valleys to shew this compliance with their Soverain's Will, than to expose themselves to all the Miseries their Disobedience might draw upon them. It was for this reason that they resolved to consent to the Accommodation was offered them, it being a lesser Evil than to see the Churches of the Valleys desolate; and the rather, that the Marquess of St. *Thomas* did assure them, That his Royal Highness, to mark the Esteem he had for them, would grant upon their Intercession, all that he could reasonably be asked for, without wounding his Reputation.

But before they did propose to the Inhabitants of the Valleys what their Prince expected from them, the Ambassadors did desire not only to be informed of the Nature of the Submission which they would oblige them to, but also to regulate the Form and the Terms of it, with the Ministers of his Royal Highness.

Therefore having made on both sides several Projects of the Petition which his Royal Highness was to be presented with, by his Subjects of the Valleys, it was at last agreed that it should contain a very humble Supplication, by which they were to desire the Prince to pardon their Offences, and to be perswaded, that if they had failed in their Respect which they owed him, yet that they were not come short of that Fidelity which could be expected from dutiful Subjects.

After which the Ambassadors having got Passports for five or six of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, dispatch'd to them the Secretary of the Embassy with the following Letter.

GENTLEMEN,

According to your Intention, which you declared to us in your Letter of the 28th of March, and the Memorial we have delivered of the Royal Highness, we would be pleased to grant you leave without put of the Country, and to dispose of all your Goods; and to that purpose we have Commissioned with Power to negotiate the matter, Bearer of Passport his Royal Highness has given us, and his Royal Highness would take hold on, to make [illegible] Answer than this; but nevertheless, to take away all [illegible] his Royal Highness would take hold on, to make [illegible] you that we shall be [illegible] you, we think you will do well [illegible] your Deputies hither as soon as is possible, promising [illegible] we will offer them with our Counsels in the [illegible] Position. Our Secretary is to deliver you this Letter, and inclosed Passports, which will assure you more of [illegible] the particulars of our Negotiation, and with the [illegible] the Court in your regard, &c.

The Secretary of the Embassy having delivered the Letter to the Deputies of the Valleys, which he had assembled, and given them an exact Account of all the Negotiation of the Ambassadors, and of the effect it had produced; made them a long Speech, to exhort them to a compliance with their Prince's Will, and desire them

them to dispatch him with all speed, assuring them that in consideration of the Ambassadors, they would obtain much more favours then they did expect.

The most sensible and most reasonable Persons of this Assembly, and above all the Ministers, imployed their utmost endeavours to oblige the others to submit themselves to the Law which they would impose upon them; because in that extremity which they were reduced unto, they must either perish with their miserable Families, or do what was desired of them.

But all those Reasons which they could alledge, were not capable to persuade them; insomuch, that after having debated the Question, and consulted together about it, with a whole day, they did distinguish themselves without being able to agree in the same Opinion. Those of the Valleys of St. *Martin*, of *Perouse*, of St. *Bartholomew*, of *Angrogne*, of *Rorbeplate*, of *Villaret*, and of *Rora*, and some of *La Tour* were of Opinion to make those Submissions which were desired of them; and having nominated some to this purpose, with Order to part for *Turin*, they charged them with Procurations in good form, by which they promised to execute all the Ambassador should find convenient in the Negociation which they were entered upon for the Interest of the Churches of the Valleys. But those of *Bobix*, of St. *John*, and some of *Angrogne*, flattering themselves with hopes of imaginary Succours, did resolve to defend the Exercise of their Religion with their Arms in their Hands, and sent to the Ambassadours their Deputy named *Blanchy*, who delivered them this following Letter:

Most Furious, Marque de Daniel
Negrin N. Symphorien
Of the Church of Bobix, Franc Dane, Counsellor
Sebastien Perrin, Deputy

Angrogne April the 4th, 1686.

Jean Furna, for Angrogne.

Most

Most High, Mighty, and Soveraign Lord,

IN follow of the Letter, your Excellencies have been pleased to write to those Valleys some few dayes ago, our Churches of St. Jean, Angrogne, and Boby, throw themselves at your Feet, to assure you of their humble Respect, and of their acknowledgement of the Favours your Excellencies do them to obtain for them, from his Royal Highness, the Sentiments concerning the Continuation of the Exercise of our Religion in these places. And concerning the Proposals that are made for, having been incapable of persuading our People to the same Sentiments, which the other Churches have, we have caused with your Excellencies Demands, the Bearers of our Deputy, Mr. Daniel Blanchin, Syndicus of the Community of St. Jean, to manifest you by word of mouth, of our Sentiments. And we humbly beseech you, that you would be pleased to continue the effects of your incomparable and Fatherly Charity, and principally in regard of your powerful Intercession by his Royal Highness, about the above-mentioned Demands. Beseeching the Lord to bless your Negotiations, and to be our Great Restorer of all the Cities, Towns, and Provinces your Excellencies have the goodness to take for our sake, to the Name of which we make it always our Glory to carry with all Respect and Submission imaginable, the Title of your Excellencies most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servants, the Deputies of the following Churches,

Michael Parise } Deputies of the Church
Jean Muston } of St. Jean.

Jean Putta, *for* Angrogne.

Marque de Daniel
Negrin N. *Syndicus*
Franc. Dane, *Counseller*
Stephen Pertin, *Deputy* } Of the Church of *Boby*

Angrogne *April the 4th*, 1686.

The

The Sieur *De la Bastie*, Minister at St. *Jean*, touch'd by the Divisions of these poor Churches, writ to the Ambassadours in these following Terms:

My Lords,

I Take the liberty to render your Excellencies my most humble Respects, by the Deputies that go to Turin, *to make their Submission to his Royal Highness, and to present him such a Petition as your Excellencies will think fit. I and my Brethren are in the greatest consternation and affliction in the world to see our People so much divided about a Retreat, apprehending their Divisions will spoil your Excellencies charitable Negotiation with his Royal Highness in our behalf, and render their Cares and Troubles unsuccessful. We have employed our utmost endeavours to make them sensible, that considering the present Juncture of Affairs, it was the best Resolution they could take, but we have not been happy enough to have like success with all. If we were not satisfied of your Excellencies incomparable Charity we should have reason to fear that this indiscreet Conduct would much change their goodness and zeal for our Interest. We most humbly beseech your Excellencies to make use on this occasion of your Goodness and Clemency, and to continue in your insatiable Cares for these poor Churches. I most humbly beg your Excellencies Pardon for my boldness, and beseech you to give me leave to render you my most humble Respects, and to assure you, that I am with all the Respect and Submission imaginable,*

My Lords,

Your Excellencies most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servant,

Aspremont, April 4. 1686. *Sidrac Bastie*, Minister.

This diversity of Opinion made the Ambassadours afraid, that the Enemies of their Religion taking hold of the division of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, might prevail with his Royal Highness to confound the Innocent with the Guilty, and to refuse all a Retreat out of their Country.

There-

Therefore they sent back into the Valleys the Deputy of Roby, with a Letter to those that were inclined to take up Arms; and they did conjure him to employ his utmost endeavours to make them agree with the other Churches. The Letter was writ in this following manner:

GENTLEMEN,

IT is true that our native Soil has great charms, and that mankind have a natural desire to live and to die there: Yet the Children of God ought not to set their hearts thereupon, because they are Foreigners upon Earth, and Heaven is their true native Country; therefore you will be guilty of an unjust contempt of Providence, if you fancy you cannot find any other Country where you may live conveniently, and where your dearest Father. In what part of the World soever we are confined or transported, we ought to think ourselves happy, provided we have there freedom to serve God according to our conscience. We ought rather to propose to yourselves the examples of those Christians, who have chosen upon them God's Righteousness, by trusting in his promises, quitting abandoning their houses and fields, rather to inhabit some remote Country. A confidence of this nature cannot but be very acceptable to the Lord; and it is a thing that more agreeable with the Spirit of the Gospel, than to take up Arms against your Sovereign; it is to Suffering Christians are call'd too, and not to a Resistance: Neither do we find that either the Apostles or the Primitive Church, made use of any other Weapons against their Persecutors, but Prayer and Patience. These are the Considerations that have obliged our Sovereign Lords the Evangelical Cantons, to give us a Place of Freedom for you from his Royal Highness, the Powerful Prince, a free Retreat, with permission to dispose of your Goods, to sell the whole, or Pledge to any you the Estimate of said Revenue, and that you shall upon this Removal be in the Condition Wishing, yet they do nevertheless consider it as a Favour, reserving according to their generous Humanity, upon the Scrupulous Conditions you are allotted to; and in doing they do that

would be very hard to obtain it from his Royal Highness, but that in case he did grant it upon their request, you ought not only to accept it with submission, but to shew your great acknowledgment for it: Whereafter you will not doubt that we have been surprized to hear that you make difficulty to resolve yourselves to it, and that you have a design to resist two powerful Princes that are resolved to extirpate you, in case you make the least opposition; for by this behaviour you do not only act against your Duty, against Christian Prudence, and against your true Interest, but you give us also just reasons to suspition of you, that having engaged at such a Negotiation with your Prince, you will not take hold of those advantages we are in a condition to procure you: Open therefore your Eyes, and consider the miseries you draw upon yourselves, and the fatal consequences of your Refusal, that might tend even to the entire destruction of your Church, and Families. Consider, that what is offer'd you, is so advantageous, considering the present State of your Affairs, that several persons of the greatest Quality, would have accepted of it as the greatest Happiness in the late Persecutions of France, and that they would have been exceedingly joyful to get back natural to of their Country without hindrance: If you do make reflections upon all these things, we are in hopes that the example of those that are of a better opinion, will touch and persuade you to follow the same Conduct; but if you refuse to imitate it, and if you persist in your obstinacy, you will be guilty before God, not only of having thrown away your Lives, which you might have saved, and of having exposed your Wives and your Children to the Massacre, but also of having caused the ruine of those noble Remains of the Vaudois Churches, which you might have transported into some other Country. And do not flatter yourselves of being capable to prevent these Evils by the means of some Succours that some persons have promised you, for we do assure you, that those that entertain you with these vain imaginations do abuse you, and that you cannot be assisted from any side: You ought to consider, that you will be left by all men, and by some of the ancient Inhabitants of your Country, and that therefore you will

soon

soon be destroyed, either by the Sword or by Famine, and that those that may escape the fury of their Enemies, will lose their Lives either by being burnt at the Stake upon the Rack or the Gallows. We assure you, that you would be grieved with us for so grievous considerations, and to agree with the sentiments of the Communalty, that are resolved to desire of their Prince a permission to retreat out of his Territories. Being persuaded that the Divine Providence will conduct you to some places where you will perhaps find more advantageous establishments than those you leave behind you; and where that you are, you will not be in want of charitable persons that will provide them with all necessaries. In expectation that God may inspire you with good resolutions, and that you will give to your Deputy such a Procuration as those of the other Communalties have given, we recommend you to his Mercy and his Divine Protection. Nothing, Gentlemen, your very affectionate servants, &c.

Turin, 6th of April.

Expecting the return of this Deputy, the Ambassadors thought fit to acquaint the Marquess of *St. Thomas* with the disposition of the Inhabitants of the Valley, and to endeavour to prevent the evils their Division might draw upon them, as well from his Royal Highness, as some of their Enemies in his Privy Council. Then they went to pay this Minister a Visit, and told him, that the Deputies were arrived, that five of them were ready to make in the name of their Commonalty the Submission his Royal Highness desired of them, but that some others, who not knowing what they were to expect from the goodness of his Royal Highness, were not yet resolved to do it; that in the mean time they were admonished by Letter to follow the sentiments of those that had a desire to submit themselves to his Royal Highness; and that in a short time their Resolution would be known.

He was afterwards desired to intercede in favour of this poor People with his Royal Highness, and to be-

beech him to have some Indulgence for them; That whereas they were prepossessed with some distrust, he would be pleased to clear their Doubts, so that their Submission might be made by an unanimous accord, to the satisfaction of the Prince and his Subjects.

The Marquess of *St. Thomas* seemed to be surprized with the obstinacy of the People of the Valleys; nevertheless, he gave some hopes that he would imploy himself by his Royal Highness to prevent that their delay, to give him the satisfaction he expected, should not be prejudicial to them, and that at last the Prince did not resolve to follow the Counsel of those that were continually perswading him to rigour.

In the mean time whereas the Court seemed to be impatient to see the end of this Affair, the Ambassadours writ a Letter to the Marquess of *St. Thomas*, to give him to understand that they had made a project of a Petition of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, which they were ready to deliver, if it could be signed by the Deputies; but whereas one of them was absent, they desired him to put off all things till his return.

The day after this Letter had been delivered to the Marquess of *St. Thomas*, the Ambassadours went to him to know the effect which it had produced; and whereas he was very eager to oblige the five Deputies, who were then at *Turin*, to sign the Petition which he had found in a good form; it was declared to him, that the Subscription could not be made in the absence of him that was sent into the Valleys; that being joyned by interest, they could not separate themselves one from another, and that in fine, it was agreed, that the Petition should be signed by all the Deputies at one time. But whereas the Marquess of *St. Thomas* had some secret Orders to hasten a Subscription of those Deputies that were then at Court; he seemed not to be satisfied with the reasons that were given him for the refusing what he desired; and the next day after he sent one of his Servants to desire the Ambassadours to prevail with

the Deputies to give him that satisfaction he desired. But the Ambassadors writ him a Letter, by which they gave him to understand, that it was not just to separate in the Subscription those that were ingaged in the same Cause, that in case some did sign without the other, such proceedings could not but have troublesome consequences; and that therefore they did desire him to expect one day longer the return of the sixth Deputy, and to prevail with his Royal Highness to grant this little delay upon their request.

The Marquis having received this Letter, told the Secretary of the Embassy, that was the Deliverer of it, That his Royal Highness was extreamly grieved with this delay, and that he was much afraid he should take some resolution that would carry things to a fatal extremity; and that therefore it was necessary to oblige the Deputies to sign immediately their Petition, and to carry it to him in order to be presented to his Royal Highness.

The Deputies hoping to defend so powerful a Mediator, in case they refused to appear before him, did resolve to go to his House, but what instances soever he could make to perswade them to sign the Petition, and for all he did assure them, that it should be done without prejudice to those of *Aosta*, yet they persisted in their first design, excusing themselves by reason of being ingaged to expect a return of the Deputy that was gone into the *Valleys*, by the incertitude of the success of his Negotiation, by the shortness of time for his return, and in fine, by the danger such a proceeding might draw upon them.

The dispositions of these Deputies, and of those of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, that were resolved to take up Arms, gave great disturbance to his Royal Highness, and that which augmented his displeasure was the news he received that they had killed two *French* Men belonging to the Citadel of *Pignerol*.

The Ambassador of *France* that was much offended with his Royal Highness's delay to execute his Edict, did

not fail to take hold on this accident, in order to dispose the Prince to revenge himself of this crime, that was committed by his Subjects in despite of his Authority, and to perswade him to keep no longer any measures with those people whom he was pleas'd to stile Rebels.

In the mean while that their Enemies were busie to their destruction, their Deputies were at *Turine* in a miserable condition, and not knowing what resolution to take, they desired the Ambassadors advice, how they should behave themselves in this great extremity.

The Ambassadors being in hopes that the Deputy who was gone to *Boby* would return in a short time, and that they might acquaint them with things capable to appease his Royal Highness's mind, thought fit to wait for his arrival before they should take any resolution.

But whereas the Deputy was waited for a long time, that his Royal Highness was continually solliciter by the Ambassadour of *France*, to put a conclusion to this business, that besides the Troops that were in his Territories did put him to very great charges, and the Prince was informed that the Ambassadors had dispatched an Express into *Switzerland* that might bring them some new Instructions; all these reasons did oblige him to end this Affair, insomuch, that how pressing and urgent soever the Instances of the Ambassadors were, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, to perswade the Prince still to put off for a little while, he published the 9th of *June* this following Edict:

THE Divine Providence establishing Soveraigns above the People, has given to the first the distribution of favours and punishments; that the hopes of the one might make the Good mindful of their duty, and that the fence of the other might prevent the Bad to abandon themselves to evil: This latter ought to fall from Our avenging-hands upon our Subjects of the Valleys of Lucerne, *making profession of the pre-*

tended Reformed Religion; because it is notorious that they have not only gain-said with great obstinacy, our Order of the 31st. of January last, but that they have also hardned themselves in their Crime, and are fallen into an enormous and consumated Rebellion; Nevertheless, our natural clemency forbearing their crime, and not contenting ourselves with our Fatherly kindness, with which we have so long time unsuccessfully waited for their repentance, we have still been willing to leave to their will (which has ever followed bad Counsels) the choice of a good or mistrable Condition, and to open them at the last tryal, the gates of our favour, that so they may be able to take hold of it in the following manner, and that in case they should not answer it, by a ready obedience, they might not be able to impute but to their own rashness, their deserved punishments, which we shall inflict upon them without delay.

Therefore confirming in the first place our Order of the 31st of January last, as far as it shall not be found contrary to this, we have by vertue of this present Edict, with our certain knowledge, full power and absolute authority, and with advice of our Privy-Council, commanded all our Subjects of the Valleys of Lucerne, making profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, to lay down their Arms, and to retire into their Houses within the term hereafter prescribed.

We command them also to make no more any Association, nor to hold any Conventicles, that so according to our intention the Judges of the place may have a free access, and that the Missionaries and other Religious Persons may return to the Churches which they have been forced to leave, and that the Catholicks, and those which have imbraced the Catholick Religion, may return to their Houses which they have abandoned.

And whereas it is not reasonable that the Religious Missionaries, the Catholicks, and those which have imbraced the Catholick Religion, should be at a loss by occasion of several damages which they have received from those of the pretended Reformed Religion, we desire, command, and ordain, that all the necessary sums to indemnifie them be generally and without distinction be reprixed upon the Goods of those of the pretended

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Reformed Religion, so as it shall be summarily satisfied before the Oberrichter Montjoux, President of Justice of the Valley, declaring nevertheless, that in case those of the said Religion prove that the damages have been caused by some particular persons, they may have their Recourse and Warrant against them.

And to shew our said Subjects how great our clemency is towards them, we grant leave to those that shall think of a retreat out of our Territories, so do it within the term, and upon the conditions hereafter prescribed: But because their ill will has served itself, but too much by their past conduct, and that several could hide their evil designs under a false pretension of obedience, we reserve for ourselves, besides those who shall retreat out of our Territories upon their own motion, to order it also to such we shall think fit, and as we shall find it most expedient to secure the peace of those that shall stay behind, whence we do intend to prescribe the Rules which they shall observe for the future.

And for an augmentation of our favours, we grant leave as well to those that shall voluntarily retreat, as to those that retreat by our orders, to take along with them their Goods and Effects at their pleasure, and to sell those they shall leave behind them, provided they do it in such a manner as is hereafter prescribed.

The same is to be understood concerning Strangers, and those that are born from Strangers, who are to conform themselves to all but the last Article of our Order of the 31st of January last, here above mentioned.

The said selling of Goods shall be made to Catholicks, or to persons that have embraced the Catholick Religion; but because there may perhaps not be found Buyers within the term here before prescribed, and that we are not willing that the Zealots of that Religion, who shall retreat out of our Territories, should be deprived of the benefits of our present concession, they may agree about, or fix persons into whose hands they shall put their Procurations, who shall have leave to stay during three months in Lucerne, with full liberty to treat and negotiate with whom they think fit to sell the Goods of those who shall

shall have Mandated, and will shall have Leave to present in their Procurations the Conditions of their selling their Goods for their better security, to receive the Price thereof in what place soever they desire it should be sent them, without fraud and deceit, of the constituted Procurators, which the Chevalier and Intendant Monzonx *shall take care of.*

Those that shall be willing to remain, shall be obliged to meet at the Day and Place hereafter specified to be ready to depart without fail, Armed by the way that shall be named to them, either through Savoy, or the Val d'Aosta; to the end, we may provide them with Passports, that they may receive no the least hinderance in our Territories; but that on the contrary, they may find all possible assistance; and because that being in great number, they may be exposed to some hard conjunctures upon the way, and in the Places through which they are to go over, that they shall divide themselves into three Bodies, as is herein before mentioned: The first shall be composed of those of the Valleys of Lucerne, *shall meet at* Tour *the Month of* April; *the Second, composed of those of the Valleys of* Angrogne, St. Barthelemew, Rocheplatte, *and* Perustine, *shall meet at* St. Second, *and shall part the day following, viz. the Twenty second of this Month; the Third and Last made up by those of the Valleys of* St Martyn *and* Pinerole, *shall meet at* Miradole, *and part from thence the Third Day, viz. the Twenty third of this Month.*

The turns wherein our said Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, that inhabit the Valleys of Lucerne, *shall be obliged to lay down their Arms, in the manner prescribed in the First Article of this present Order, That within Eight Days after the Publication hereof in* Lucerne, *during which they ought to have obeyed the Contents of the said Order, to enjoy the fruits of our Clemency, by which as well as our Fatherly Affection towards our said Subjects, we leave to its nature and course, notwithstanding the enormity of their Crimes. And by reason of a punctual observation of all herein contained, we grant our Favour, Pardon, Remission, Abolition, and a full Amnesty to our said Subjects of all their Excesses, Misdemeanors, Crimes, and other things which they may have committed since the Pub-*

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made of an Order of the Thirty First of January last, as well as general as particular, so that they may not be called in Account, for under what pretence whatsoever, prohibiting all Judges, Fiscals, and others whom it belongs to, to enquire into it. But because in case they should render themselves unworthy of such Favours, by not observing all that is here above mentioned, within the prescribed term, it would be too pernicious an Example to delay any longer their deserved Punishment, after having been indulgent to them of our Favours, and after having waited so long time for their Repentance, but intend to make use of those means which God has put into our hands to bring the Obstinate to their Duty, and to make them feel the Punishment of their great presumption, commanding our Senate, &c.

Given at *Turin*, the 9th of *April* 1686.

Enrolled the 10th.

Albeit as the Edict was Printed, the Mayor of St. Thomas brought a Copy of it to the Ambassador's, whom he would make believe, that it was only on their account, that his Royal Highness expressed so much kindness towards his Subjects, and that notwithstanding the Ambassador of *France* was very angry, that there was so much condescension made in favour of the Valleys; that nevertheless he was willing to see the Edict faithfully executed.

The Ambassadors having read it immediately in the Marquess's presence, made some Reflections upon it, and principally were not satisfied with the shortness of time that was granted to those unhappy People to retreat out of his Royal Highness's Territories, and to dispose of their Goods; with the little number of Procurators that were charged to sell the Goods of so great a number of Persons, with the time in which the Goods were to be sold; and with some other Difficulties which they met with in the Exemption of this Edict, and which they resolved to propose to his Royal Highness, after having seriously considered them.

As soon as the Ambassador had left the Marquess, they sent for the Deputies of the Valleys, that were ready to

make

make the Submission, and obliged them to return home, desiring them to acquaint their Commonalties with what had passed; as also with the Content of the Edict, and to assure them, That unless they did submit, it would be impossible to obtain the least mitigation in the execution of those things therein contained.

In the mean time the Sixth Deputy, who had been so long time expected returned out of the Valleys, and informed the Ambassadors, That the Commonalties that had made a design to defend themselves, did persist in the same Resolution; and that all he did alledge to make them enter into a better Opinion, had no effect upon their minds; as it was evident by the Letters which were sent them out of the Valleys in the following manner.

My Lords,

WE did not fail immediately after the arrival of our Deputy, to make some Copies of the Letter which your Excellencies have been pleased to write to our Churches, and they have been read every where after Sermon, there was nothing he said that in either more true, or more moving and convincing, and your Excellencies may be fully persuaded, that there is no body but that finds, and does acknowledge that it is the effect of your holy and Christian Charity towards our Churches; yet notwithstanding it has been till now absolutely impossible to dispose our People to a Retreat out of this Country; some out of fear, it may be, because the last of several Persons that shall return to stay behind; others by a principle of Constancy, and others out of several other Considerations, which our Deputy will tell your Excellencies by word of mouth. We are in the greatest consternation about it, and dare not almost appear before your Excellencies with so much resentment. Our People are the more to their Opinion, because they have been assured, that several other Churches, at least a great part of those that composed them, did not know that the business was about such a Retreat, when they gave them Procuration to their Deputies, or if they had understood them, they had changed their minds, which gives us just reason to fear, that in case your Excellencies should be farther engaged for this People, you would

make

be extremely displeased with their refusal to Retreat; and it was by reason of that fear we had here the last Sunday, when we desired your Excellencies to give us leave to inform our selves of the minds of our People about their Proposition, for fearing at the same time that it would be very hard to persuade them to it, they were for the most part resolved to be their Fathers Children, and hope that the Lord will be their Deliverer, that would make use of feeble things to confound the strong, and that Heaven would send our some hinderance to those Designs which are formed against us. We do not question but that extremely afflict your Excellencies; and we are touched with it to our very Souls; but it is not in our power to change their Hearts, and to dispose of other Mens Wills; nevertheless we conjure your Excellencies in all possible humility, that you would not be pleased to deny your kindness to these Churches, neither to deprive us of our necessary and comfortable supports, which, under God, but we have in these three years. For God, who has always given us marvellous success, our Affairs shall go the day our Souls before God, to implore with us with all ardency, that he would be pleased to dispose all things to the Glory of his Holy Name, and the Preservation of our People; and that he would grant by his Divine Providence, by the means of your Excellencies, that we may find the granting of some days, that we may once more inform our selves of the Sentiments of our People, by the collecting every Man's Voice in particular, if it be possible, to know their last Resolutions; so that we may not be blamed, neither of one side or another. The Lord be the abundant Rewarder of your Excellencies Charities, and we are with all manner of Respects,

My Lords,

Your Excellencies most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servants,

The Deputies of Roby, St John, *and* Angrogne.

John Agbiere, Daniel Gilliot, Ebenezer Dennis, Deputies of *Roby*; *Michael Parise, John Muscebin*, Deputies of St. *Johns*; *John Duffa, Pierre Duffa, Lewis Odin*, Deputies of *Angrogne*.

Angrogne, Apr. 9. 1686.

Most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lords,

WE thought fit before in all humility to your Excellencies, to shew you our most sensible and [illegible] displeasure that the great part of our People are not [illegible] considering with a Christian prudence the Favour your Excellencies have now to give them, by a free Retreat out of the Country with Bag and Baggage, and to transport it with a safe Passport from Newton, and to Dover, which they have [illegible] at other times; this notwithstanding our Hearts bleed [illegible] more, that your Excellencies Letter which you have [illegible] sent to write to them, should have immediately [illegible] an Effect of this nature; yet we have [illegible] your Excellencies reckoning the grounds to [illegible] Considerations, we humbly will that we [illegible] the Rabble, in our very hard reproaches, and to [illegible] all sensible of the misery and the fear of Things [illegible] length of time, and principally which is we above [illegible] there so ill, we need so clear proofs, we are [illegible] nevertheless, we are always, and the most [illegible] that resign themselves entirely to your Excellencies [illegible] Clemency, and Prudence, and that will never [illegible] will find most expedient for the Glory of God [illegible] sure and preservation. The Ministers also are [illegible] same Opinion, and we are all willing [illegible] serve the Council your Excellencies will be pleased to [illegible] and we most humbly beseech you to pity us and our [illegible] draw us out of our Misfortune which we all appear [illegible] voidable; this is the Favour we hope from your Excellencies, and pray the Lord to bless your Lordships with all [illegible] prosperity; and we are with all possible respect and [illegible]

most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lord,

Your Excellencies most humble, and most obedient Servants,

Stoke Basset.

Aylesset, Apr. 9. 1689. Guillaume [illegible]

I. *We have been informed for certain, by a good hand, that his Royal Highness will not grant us a Retreat with our Goods,*

but that it pretends to detain them for the Charge it has been at in their Maintenance.

III. That it absolutely pretends that the Fugitives that Fled against should be delivered into its hands.

IV. That we should lay down our Arms, and that we should deliver them up to the Governour.

V. That the Troops were upon the Valleys to demolish the Churches, and to practise all Divine Exercise.

Perhaps you have Cause to fear, that the Council would by no means suffer that the French Troops should march against us.

The Ambassadors had no sooner read these Letters, but they sent back the Deputy with another Letter, of which there were two Copies; one of them was directed to those of *Pelly* and *St Jean*, and the other to those of *Angrogne*. In this Letter there was consultrated to them the vanity and little solidness of their Reasons they made use of to accept the Fugitives offered them. It was a good Work, (say they) That the Laws obliging our native Country, we should be but they were obliged at the same time, that the Laws that obliges us to abandon the External God, and to maintain the true Religion, is still much harder; that we ought to think ourselves happy, of being able to shew such favourable Extremities; that it was a Humanity which was related in Matter to Persons of the highest Rank, and of eminent Merits, that were detained by force in that Country, and forced to abandon their Native Country. That the Affairs of this World were subject to perpetual Revolutions; that Kings and Princes are often obliged to abandon their Crowns, and to leave their States to their Enemies; and that therefore particular Persons ought to undergo without murmuring all Crosses, and to resign themselves with submission to the Orders of Providence, who pass by her chastising the Rod of her Children, to a trial to divert their Hearts from the World, and to move them to search with so much more ardency their heavenly Country; that they had reason to believe that the Arm of God that had supported

them in the Wars past, was not sufficient; but they were to consider that at that time God had raised some of their Neighbours, who did support with their Goods, with their Troops, and their Officers, that then they had many Friends about them; instead of that, now at present, they were surrounded every where with Enemies; that at that time they had a great many enough there capable to bear Arms, that all were united together; but this at present they were deprived of all those advantages; that their Sovereign alone was there to assist, or to encourage them; and that yet these were not the only Troops they were to fight against; that those of *Flanders* were already fall upon them; and that suppose they were happy enough to get some advantage over them at the first Attack, yet at last they would have to be opposed by the greater number of those that would succeed those that were vanquished; that besides their division amongst themselves would be very prejudicial to them; that their blessing to assist their Sovereign often would oblige all the Protestant Princes to abandon them, because they had rather to fly than take up Arms, than to follow the Church, and give up them; that they ought not to flatter themselves with hopes of some relief or assistance to them, as was that which God granted to the *Hebrews*, by routing the whole army of *Sennacherib*; that in the Age we live in, God will not do Miracles in favour of his Church, as in the time of the *Israelites*; that the holy Scripture teaches us, that it is an evil sent into Dangers, out of which we foresee it will be impossible to escape, is to tempt God, who blinds those that run headlong into it; that Christian Prudence, the Charity they owed to their Wives and Children, and love of their own Persons, did oblige them to follow the Example of the richest Inhabitants of the Vallons, that their Prince looking on them as Criminals, would most gain their Goods, and would make them undergo the most ignominious punishments, if they persisted in their resolutions. That since Divine Providence had blest with success the Cares of those that interceded for them, it was visible that he was willing to disengage them from the

difficult passage; that having obtained some mitigation in the execution of the Edict, they might to take hold thereof; that it was not the fault of those that employed themselves for them, that their condition was not better, and that they should assure themselves, that there would be saved no labour to procure them some more advantages; but in case this should be impossible, they ought to accept of what was offered them, because considering their condition, they could not offer to capitulate with their Prince who had great Forces to oblige them to obedience; that in case they refused to submit themselves to his will, their obstinacy would cause them selves not only the loss of their bodies, but their very souls; and that they had reason to fear that those who should escape the sword of their Persecutors, would at last be become by the rigour of the hardships which they would be forced to undergo, to make them change their Religion; that they had no reason to fear that leave to retreat whither they pleased, was granted them as a snare to entrap them, because the Court had given them such Securities that ought to set their minds at rest concerning that matter, and persuaded them of the sincerity of his Royal Highness's intention, who would not give leave that any thing should be undertaken contrary to his promise, nor to blast a publick perfidiousness on his glory and reputation, now all shot in his regards which he has had till now for the Evangelical Cantons; that in case they had been willing to surprize them, it might easily have been done at the first, but that the Prince would not suffer it, and that he would not suffer it for the future; that in fine, the Troops of *Savoy* and *France* were ready to attack them from every side; and that they ought to be sure that no harm would be done them, in case they submitted themselves to his Royal Highness's orders.

In the mean while the Ambassadors having considered at leisure the last Edict of his Royal Highness, found that the Inhabitants of the Valleys could not submit to it without exposing themselves to very great inconveniencies; and resolved to endeavour a new to get them some

some more advantageous conditions; and to this effect they desired the Marquess of St. Thomas to procure them an Audience of his Royal Highness, and having obtained it, they did represent to him, That having made some Reflections upon his Royal Highness's last Edict, they had taken the liberty to make some Observations upon three principal Points contained therein, to wit, 1. Upon that which allows the Inhabitants of the Valleys but ten days to retreat out of his Territories. 2. Upon that which prescribes them the number of six Trustees for the sale of their Goods. 3. Upon that which gives them only leave to sell their Goods within three months; and that they desire his Royal Highness to look upon the Remarks they had set down in the Memorial, which they did present him, and to consider that a mitigation of his Edict, they so much wishe for, would be of no consequence to him, but that it was of great importance to his miserable Subjects, who had so profound a respect, and so fervent a love for their Soverain, that they could not possible wish themselves to retreat out of his Territories, and that considered with the greatest troubles in the World, that abandoning their native Country they should be deprived of the pleasure which they have to realize from time to time their Loyalty, taking hold on all occasions to expose their lives in his service. That therefore they hoped that his Royal Highness would make use of his clemency on their behalf, and to give necessary orders to put them in a condition to retreat commodiously out of his Territories, and so carry along with them what they should be able to get together out of their ship-wrack'd Fortunes; and that by these means he would give to their Excellencies the Protestant Cantons a fresh reason to continue in that affection and respect they have always had for the Royal House of Savoy, and in their Particulars they should be them know that their good offices had not been unprofitable to those Wretches they did intercede for.

The Duke answered the Ambassadors, That in consideration of the Protestant Cantons, he had given his

People

people great marks of an extraordinary clemency; that he had not chastised them according to their desert, but that he had expected with patience that his people should come to themselves, and consider their duty; and that having pushed their Rebellion to an extremity, and given him new reasons of complaint, by those Insolencies they had lately committed, they had bound up his hands, insomuch that he could not grant them their request without wounding his reputation and authority; that the condescension he has had for them, had drawn upon him the reproaches of *France*, that nevertheless he was willing they should enjoy the benefit of his Edict; and that in case they would obtain some mitigation of the orders therein contained, they ought to render themselves worthy of it in laying down their Arms, and submitting themselves to his pleasure.

Afterwards the Ambassadors presented his Royal Highness their Memorial, with the following Contents.

YOur Royal Highness is humbly petitioned to consider, that he that will or shall retreat out of the Valleys by vertue of your published Order, is obliged to prepare himself for his departure, for the transport of his Wife, his Children, and his Goods, that will be necessary to him; that he will be obliged to dispose in several places what he cannot carry along with him; that he must provide for the sale of his Corn, of his Provisions, of his Wine, of his Cattle, which he would not be forced to leave at random; and that he cannot trust with his Procurator at Lucerne, *and that consequently by reason of the distance of the place, will be incapable to take care of it; that within the term of eight days he will not be able to come to an account either with his Creditors or his Debtors, because those he has to do with do not live in the Valleys, or because there may be some accounts that cannot be regulated but by arbitration; that in consideration of Goods immovable, there is to be made an exact description of the Vine-yards, Meadows, Fields, and Woods, whose boundaries and limits are to be marked out and described, as also of the rights thereunto belonging, and the sums for which they are mortgaged, and that there ought*

to

to be granted some particular Procurations to that purpose. Therefore your Royal Highness having been pleased by an effect of your justice and clemency, to grant to your Subjects of the Valleys leave to retreat where ever they please, and to take their Goods which they shall leave behind them, you would not be willing that this favour should be unprofitable to them, by obstructing the favour of this concession by the shortness of time, to take away from them, what one hand what you have given them with the other. Your Royal Highness is also supposed to consider that six Trustees are not enough for the sale of Goods belonging to several hundreds of Families that shall be willing to retreat; that this Commission cannot be given but to persons of the Country, and consequently to persons without learning and without capacity, and taken up with their own affairs; that besides, these Trustees will be obliged to run to several places to find out Buyers, to let them have a view of the things which they are to buy, that settlements must be made in several places before several Notaries, that they are to wait at the selling of a great number of moveables that are dispersed in several Houses, to tell money, to change it, and to send it to them into foreign Countries, to find out some conveniences for that purpose, to write to their Correspondents for the clearing of several doubts that may be raised, to remove the obstructions they shall meet with, to defend themselves against some unjust demands, to receive Letters from those they shall write to from the places of their retreate, to acquaint them with the state of their affairs, and in a word, to be charged with a thousand other occupations that we cannot now foresee: Therefore because your Royal Highness does not intend to enrich yourself with the Goods of your poor Subjects, nor to augment your revenues by their losses, you will be pleased to grant them leave to nominate twelve Persons that within the time prescribed by your Royal Highness, shall proceed to the sale of the Goods of those that shall be retreated: But because it will undoubtedly happen, that within the term of three months, with what diligence soever the Trustees may proceede to the sale of the Goods of the poor Refugees; there will be found few Chapmen, and that every body will expect the end of the term to take advantage of the necessity which the Trustees will be driven to

to dispose of their Goods, and to have them from those Wretches at an under price, by reason of their fear to lose all, we are in hopes your Royal Highness will have the goodness to prevent this inconveniency, and according to the Agreements made in the year 1663, with his late Royal Highness of glorious memory, you will buy at a reasonable price the movable and immovable Goods, that within the space of three months shall not be sold.

And because your Royal Highness does distinguish yourself by your goodness and clemency, you are not willing without doubt to oblige any body to impossibilities, and therefore conceived newly brought to bed, or that are in the last month of their time, old and sick Men, you will make no difficulty to dispence in their favour with the Law you have prescribed to others about their retreate, and exempt them from quartering Souldiers, who how well soever disciplined, cause always some disorder, and carry into all places where they enter, as also to grant them leave to live and die in their Houses without fear of being ill used, and of being spoiled of their Goods and Provisions.

In fine, we instantly desire your Royal Highness that you would be pleased to use your clemency towards those of the Vallys, that are detained in your Prisons, and towards those that have been taken up on that account, and that you will be pleased mercifully to set them at liberty.

The Duke of *Savoy* receiving the Memorial of the Ambassadors, did promise to take it into his consideration, and told them that he would acquaint them with his will about it.

In the mean time that the Ambassadors were busie at *Turine*, to render the condition of the Inhabitants of the Valleys more advantageous, they took a resolution that caused their total ruine; for instead that before the publication of the last Edict, the most part amongst them were resolved to look for a retreate some-where else, they did joyn all together by a common consent, and formed a design to defend themselves against those Armies that were in a readiness to attack them.

The reasons which they alledged in their Conduct were, That his Royal Highness's Edict, to which they were commanded to submit themselves, did contain several things which they could not allow, and others which they could in no manner execute: And *first*, they said it was not reasonable they should declare themselves guilty of a Rebellion they were taxed with, because they had done nothing against his Royal Highness's service, but only that which they had been obliged to, to maintain the exercise of their Religion.

2dly, That they ought not to approve of the last Edict, because it confirm'd that of the 31st of *January*, by which they were deprived of the liberty to serve God according to their faith.

3dly, That they could not prevail with themselves to obey that clause by which they were commanded to lay down their Arms, and that in case they should submit themselves to it, they would expose themselves to the loss of their temporal and spiritual Happiness, and would be forced to undergo the same misfortune which did happen to them in the former Persecutions, and principally in that of the year 1655, which taught them, by a sad experience, that they made no bones to break their word with them; and what confirmed them in their opinion was the approach of the Troops that advanced towards their Country, notwithstanding the Marquess of *St. Tomar* his promise, who did assure them, that they were not to enter into their Country, till after the term prescribed in the Edict.

4thly, That the time which was given them for a preparation of their departure being extreamly short, they could not execute the Edict, considering the great number of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, the great age of several persons, and the sickness of several others.

5thly, That it was impossible that the sale of their Goods should be made by Trustees; that suppose they should be resolved to sell them, it should be upon conditions to receive the price of it before their departure, or that it should be put into the hands of the Ambassadors;

and that there should be procured the sale of the Goods of those scituate upon the Mountains, as well as of those that were in the Plains, and of those that were in the *French* K.'s Territories. And in fine, whereas this sale ought to be made to *Roman* Catholicks, that they had reason to fear the Priests would hinder them to buy, being assured that they would not fail to be Masters of all, after that all the Inhabitants of the Valleys should be out of the Country.

Lastly, That they had reason to fear all from those that hold for a Maxim, *That no faith ought to be kept with Heretick.*

The Ministers and most reasonable Persons of the Valleys did all they could to hinder this People from coming to this extremity; but all their reasons they did employ to prevent this resolution, were not capable to hinder them from being hurried away by the conduct of those that flatter'd them with imaginary hopes; and these are the very Persons that hindering them to accept of the favour that was offer'd them, were the cause of their ruine. The reason may be seen in this following Letter, that was made use of to make them change their resolution, and to precipitate them to their confusion:

Rocheplatte, April the 14th, 1686.

Most Illustrious and most Mighty Lord,

I Can find no means to contain the People of our Vallies in their Duty, and principally since a certain Minister (whose name you shall be informed of) is arrived here, who has at such a rate prepossessed our People with pretended Succours of all things, that there is no Minister in safety in his Church. Saving three Communalties, Bobi, Angrogne, and St. John, all was at quiet, and resolved entirely to submit themselves to your charity and conduct; and if the most reasonable might perhaps at last have prevailed with those who are, as well out of ignorance, as for want of being well acquainted with your Excellencies; but amongst all, my Charge & Your was entirely submissive till his arrival, who has put all in confusion, save the most reasonable, who desire from you a Particular to take them under your protection, in order to get them a free retreat to such a place where they may serve God according to his Commandments. I consecrate myself with a pro-

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found humility to render you my most humble respects, being with a profound submission,

Your most Illustrious Excellencies most humble and obedient servant,

Girand, Minister of *Tour*.

In another Letter written by the Minister of the Churches of the Valleys, there is to be found a blanck for names, in the following words:

MR. —— *Minister of the Church of* Pinache, *in the Valley of* Pezonse, *is come from* —— *where we are fully persuaded he has received order to animate, as he does, all the World rather to die than to accept of the conditions of a Retreat, under several promises.*

The Ambassadors being acquainted with this resolution of theirs, saw very well that considering the disposition of this People, there was no appearance to make them change in their opinion, and to infuse into them more reasonable thoughts.

Yet nevertheless they thought that they ought to make their last endeavours to oblige them to accept of the favour which their Prince did offer them, though it was not so large and advantagious as they might have wished for; And whereas they considered that the only means to work in some measure upon their minds, was to render their retreat less inconvenient and less troublesome than it was, according to the terms of the Edict, they applied themselves to solicit for an Answer to the Memorial which they had presented to the Duke of *Savoy*, that in case it was favourable they could make it known to those of the Valleys, and to make use of as the strongest reason for their perswasion.

But his Answer was not such as they expected, for the Marquess of *St. Thomas* acquainted the Ambassador, that his Royal Highness would not make any larger Declaration concerning the things contained in his last Edict, because his Subjects were obstinate in their Rebellion, and because they refused to lay down their Arms, boasting, that they were in a condition to resist their Prince; that therefore his Royal Highness was resolved to depart to morrow, and to go in person to make these Rebels conform to their duty. That concerning those that would retreat some-where else, they should

would faithfully enjoy the benefit of the Edict; and that those that would not submit to it, should receive their so much deserved punishment.

As soon as they had left the Marquess of *St. Thomas*, they dispatched an Express to those in the Valleys, and gave them advice of the ill success of their Negotiation, by the following Letter:

Gentlemen,

AT the secret Audience which we had of his Royal Highness your Prince, we have instantly desired him, that he would be pleased to grant you a retreat out of his Territories upon more gracious conditions than those that are expressed by the last Edict; and we have represented to him as well by word of mouth, as by our Memorial, all the reasons that might be capable to move and to prevail with him to mitigate the Order he has already published against you: We did solicit him to grant you a longer term to dispose yourselves to so troublesome a retreat, and to sell your Goods, and that he would be pleased to augment the number of the Trustees charged to sell them; to give leave that the aged, sick, and infirm persons, and Women newly brought to bed, or that were big with child might stay behind in the Country without being exposed to any ill usage, and without being obliged to quarter Souldiers; and in fine, to give order that his Procurators might be sell the Goods that should not be vended within the time prescribed by his Edict: But we have not been able to obtain the least thing from his Royal Highness, because he has been informed that you are up in Arms to obstruct the execution of his orders. We have also endeavoured to persuade the Marquess of St. Thomas that he would be pleased to employ his credit with his Royal Highness, to dispose him to grant us what we desired in your favour; but he has given us to understand, that as long as you shall keep in Arms, there are no hopes for you. His Royal Highness departs this day for Procairas, and we have had our Audience of Congé, with a design to return immediately into our Country, except God's providence gives us some more favourable occasion to serve you; and since without taking notice of some wise Mens counsels, you resign the event of your affairs to God's providence, we beseech him that he would be pleased to assist you in your calamity, and direct all to his glory, and your temporal and spiritual welfare; Resting, after we have recommended you to God Almighty's favour, &c.

Turine, &c.

Altho'

Altho' the Ambassadors found the affairs of the Inhabitants of the Valleys in so desperate condition, and that it was impossible for them to prevent their misfortunes, they would not abandon them; and they thought it would be of some profit to them, if they followed his Royal Highness in the Camp, therefore they desired the Marquess of *Thomas* to ask his Royal Highness's leave for it: But the Marquess told them, that their presence might give some jealousie to the Ambassador of France, and the Pope, and that whereas his Royal Highness had several great reasons not to disoblige the Most Christian King, the Ambassadors would do him not to insist upon his demand, Affairs being in such a condition, that how disposed soever his Royal Highness were to give them some marks of his considerations for them, he was in no capacity to do them for how much reflection he made upon their intercession.

Therefore the Ambassadors that had had their Audience of Congé, upon condition nevertheless, that in case there should happen an accident that might oblige them afterwards to appear at Court, there should be had all deference for them, that was due to their Character, resolved to return to their own Country, according to the order which they had received some few days before from their Sovereign in a Letter written to them from *Zurich*, in which the Helvetical Cantons commended them to abandon their Negotiation, in case they did judge it would be fruitless.

Nevertheless, whereas they thought that the Marquess of St. *Thomas*, or those other Ministers might trouble to find favourable opinion to prevail with his Royal Highness to make use of his clemency towards his poor Subjects of the Valleys, they resolved to pay them a visit, to desire them to have compassion upon those Wretches, and to render them on this occasion all the good offices they might be capable of; but because the Court was obliged to depart in a hurry, it was impossible for them to execute their design, and they were obliged to make those instances to them by writing, which they could not do by word of mouth: and they received presently after the Marquess's answer, who did assure them, that he would take care of all overtures which the Inhabitants of the Valleys could furnish him with to employ himself for them.

A few days before their departure, they received two Letters out of the Valleys, one writ by all the Commonalties to the Evangelical Cantons, in the following manner:

Most High, Mighty, and Soveraign Lords,

Our Churches have for a long time experimented, and principally in these unhappy Troubles that have happened to them, the incomparable charity and fatherly affection of your Excellencies towards them, and still very lately, by sending our Lords the Ambassadors to his Royal Highness, upon occasion of the Order of the 31st of January last, published against us, as we have been informed of, by the Letter which you have been pleased to direct to us: We are not able enough to acknowledge the cares, troubles, and pains which our Lords the Ambassadors have taken in our favour and preservation, towards our Soveraign, and had they met with hearts disposed to our reliefs and quietness, their Intercessions would not have failed of being successful; but it ought to be confessed that our condition is very bad from that side, confounding the World; we render nevertheless to your Excellencies, with all the sentiments of acknowledgments we are capable of, our most humble and hearty thanks for so many favours we have received from their so Holy and Christian Charity: We are very sensible, and confess it, the with a great confusion, that our Lords the Ambassadors have not had from our People all those satisfactions that might have been wished for, concerning their reparation into your hands: but we most humbly beseech you to continue their charity and support towards a People that make to themselves a point of Conscience and Honour to preserve their Religion in their native Country, where it has been a long time miraculously preserved: We are very sensible that it is to the World, our ruine is inevitable; but we are in hopes that God will revenge his quarrel, and that good and charitable Princes will not abandon us, and principally we, put our trust under God, into your Excellencies, and throw ourselves into their fatherly arms, beseeching you for the compassion of God, and in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, our common Father and Saviour, not to deprive us of your charity and affection, and to shew the zeal of your clemency and tenderness upon so many poor Reformed Christians, and other weak miserable Persons, as to the World, so to them feel the favourable effects of your Christian Goodness: We beseech the Lord that he would be pleased to be the perpetual Preserver of your Excellencies, and the abundant Rewarder of all your Holy and Christian Goodness, and are with all the veneration imaginable,

Most High, Mighty, and Soveraign Lords, your Excellencies

Most humble, most obedient, and most obliged Servants,

The Ministers, Inclers, and other Directors of the Churches of the Valleys in Piemont, and for them,

S. Basin, *Moderator.* Gd. Marion, *Minister.*

The Letter which the Ministers writ to the Ambassadors, was to this purpose:

My

My Lords [illegible]

Excellencies [illegible]

mindful of those wise Counsels your Excellencies [illegible] *vent such a danger and desolation that in all humane* [illegible] *able: We pray to God that he would be pleaſed to crown* [illegible] *who in ſpite of all appearance, with ſucceſs, and to* [illegible] [illegible] *I do believe that all the Miniſters* [illegible] [illegible] *your Excellencies* [illegible] [illegible] *his life for his Flock. We continue to give your Excellencies* [illegible] *humble thanks for thoſe Troubles and* [illegible] *Cares* [illegible] *our welfare and ſubſiſtance; and we conjure you by the* [illegible] *and by the charity of Jeſus Chriſt not to forget* [illegible] [illegible] *Churches* [illegible] *precious* [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] *Angrogna* [illegible] *S. Martin* [illegible]

[illegible] 17. 16[illegible]

The Inhabitants of the Valleys being diſpoſed to this [illegible] [illegible] and the D. of Savoy [illegible] [illegible] Ambaſſadors [illegible] [illegible] Troops [illegible] [illegible] their Country [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] had no ſooner appeared in the Valleys, but [illegible] taken themſelves to their heels [illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] extremely troubled that they had not been able to [illegible] thoſe precious Remains of the [illegible] Churches [illegible] Country, they gave an account of their [illegible] [illegible] of their [illegible] by [illegible] but by their [illegible] [illegible] with the zeal [illegible] they had ſhewed during the whole courſe of this difficult Affair [illegible] Thanks for the Cares they had taken to fill up worthily the [illegible] [illegible]

My